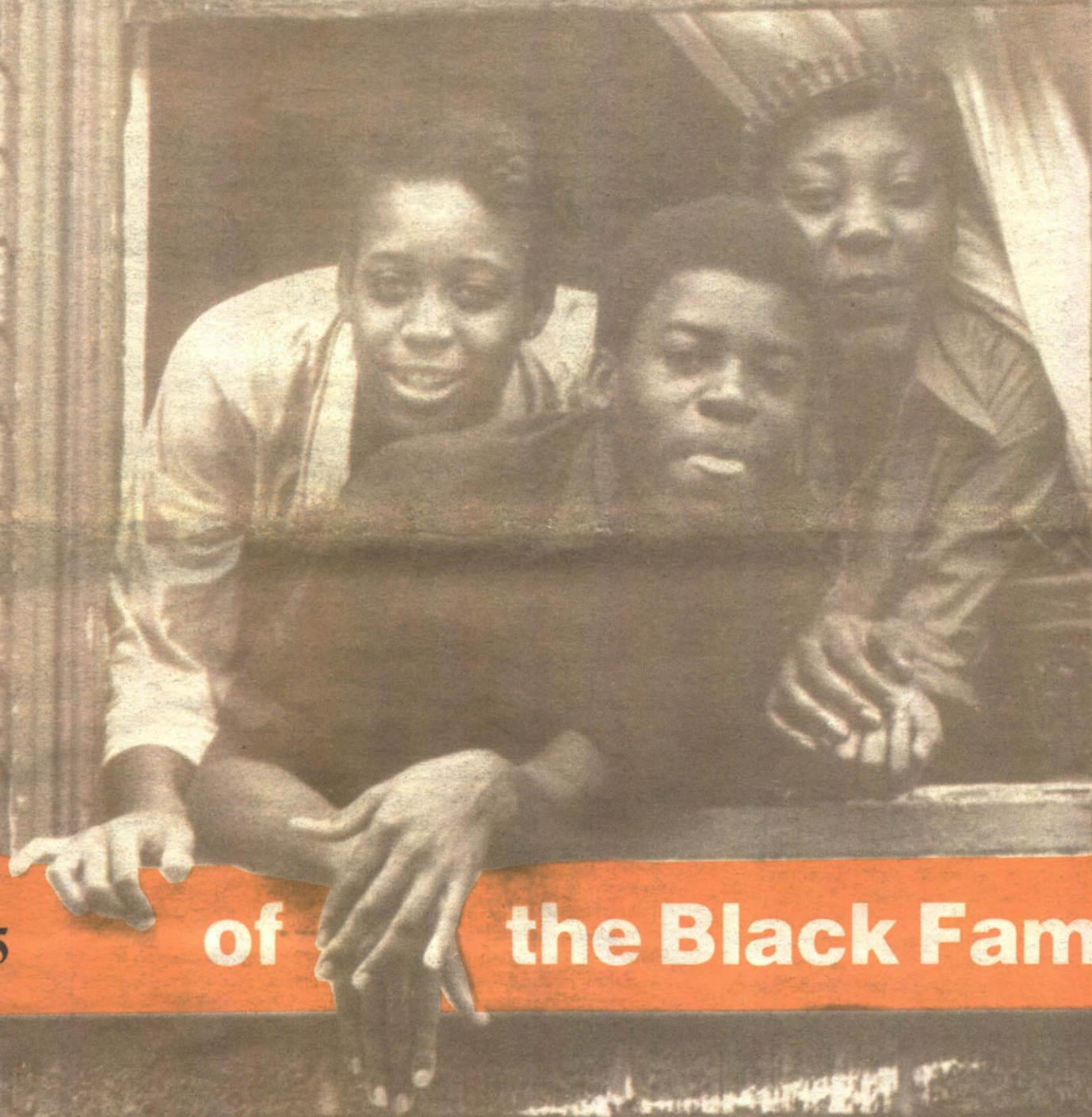


The **Dilemma**



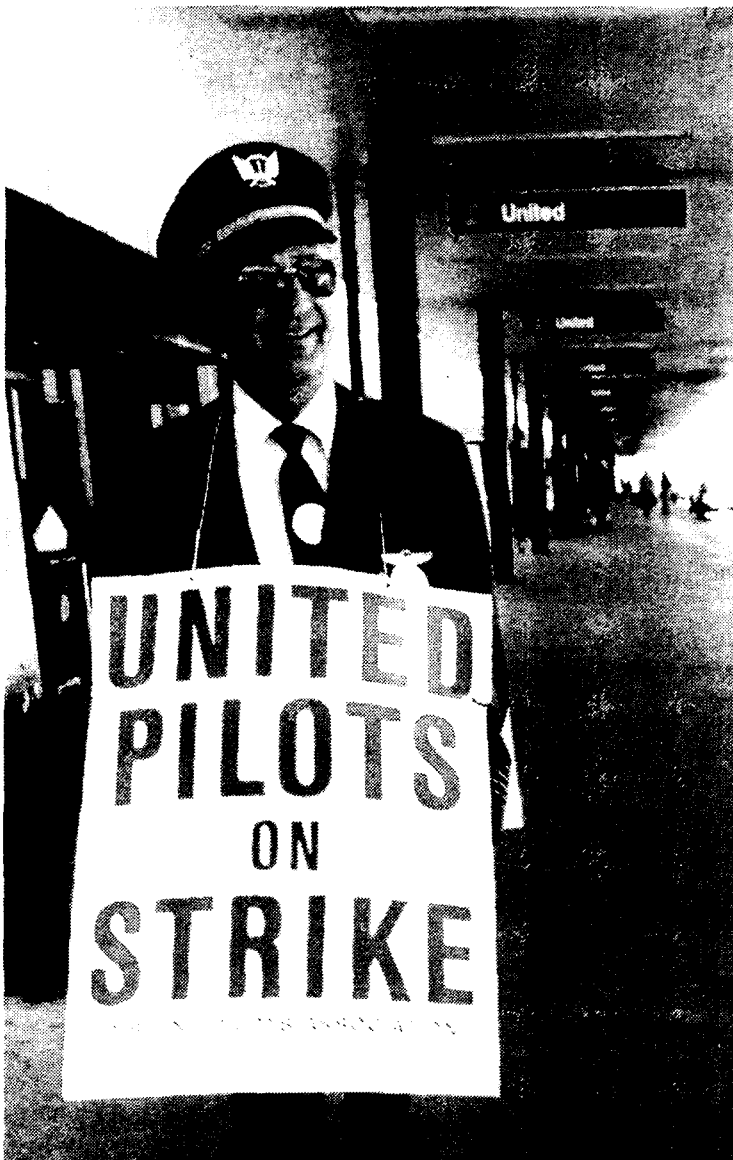
Page 5

of the Black Family

Paul Comstock

The United Airlines strike	2	Soccer and barbarism	11
Reagan's tax plan	3	Soviet newsletter	17
Gays vs. the Church	7	Appreciating Studs Terkel	19
India in the middle	9	Zaloom's puppetry	20

INSIDE LABOR



The striking United pilots' union hits a variety of emotional chords but does not rely on typical union consciousness.

Paul Comstock

United strike: new face of unionism

By David Moberg

Calling a hard-line manager a "union-buster" may be part of standard union rhetoric these days, but in the case of United Airlines chairman Richard Ferris, the label fits. United, the biggest domestic airline and one of the most profitable, started negotiation with its 5,200 pilots well before the May 17 strike by demanding drastically lower pay for newly hired cockpit personnel that would converge, if at all, with current pilots' salaries only after roughly 20 years on the job.

That was bad enough. "Two-tier" wage systems are common now among pilots, mechanics and flight attendants as management—smelling blood—has clawed at a new wound in labor's side during the recent concession frenzy triggered by deregulation. The pilots object that such "two-tier" systems are unfair—unequal pay for equal work. Also, they maintain, such provisions ultimately threaten not only unions but also the safety of passengers by introducing friction among crew members.

A compromise was reached after the first week that would start new crew members at rates 34 to 50 percent below current pay and keep them lower for at least five years (rates for subsequent years left open to negotiation or arbitration). Then United created new issues that, if anything, hardened the resolve of strikers and suggested that Ferris' ultimate aim was not simply lower labor costs but no union.

Ferris insisted on rewarding the strikebreakers and punishing strikers and their supporters. He wanted pilots who crossed the picket line to keep their new, more lucrative jobs resulting from post-strike rebidding and maintain a "super-seniority." Pilot Don Berridge claimed that move "is just going to serve to unite people more. I was a middle-of-the-road guy. I'm angry now. People who were on the fence before aren't any more. If he'd come up with one wedge to drive between the company and the union, it's attacking seniority. Nothing is closer to people."

Ferris also refused to employ in the future any of the roughly 570 new pilots hired and trained before the strike who refused to cross the picket line. Although recruited for planned route expansion, the new-hires were also considered prime strikebreaking candidates. After all, they were on the verge of a hard-to-get, well-paid career with a major airline. But much to the shock and dismay of the airline, only four—then only two—of these trainees crossed the picket line. In return for their remarkable support, the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) felt a responsibility to defend their jobs. Likewise, ALPA has pledged to make sure that flight attendants—90 percent of whom respected picket lines in the initial weeks, according to their union—also are rehired without recrimination, as well as a small number of pilots in managerial positions who stayed out.

Unions in the airline industry have a spotty record at best of supporting other employee groups—the pilots having the worst reputation for mutual aid—or even sticking together as a union. But ALPA reports only 5 percent of its members crossed the picket line. Flight attendants, who may feel greater identification with pilots and recognize the risks of going alone against the company, have overcome any residual ill feelings from the time when their union—the Association of Flight Attendants—was a poorly treated subsidiary of ALPA. The Machinists union, representing mechanics, has challenged in court the constitutionality of a contract clause prohibiting them from respecting pilot picket lines and has warned that it won't tolerate destruction of ALPA.

When Ferris first took over United, he established relatively cordial relations with ALPA and other unions. The company's approach this year represents "a real shift," according to Mark L. Kahn, emeritus professor at Wayne State University and a veteran mediator in the airline industry. "What's happened clearly represents a major decision on the part of the company to change the traditional nature of its relations with the pilots union in particular, and potentially other unions, a determination to drive down labor costs."

While refraining from taking sides, Kahn said of the company's back-to-work proposals, "Objectively these demands strike at the heart of union leverage and are demands a union couldn't accept short of unconditional surrender." In any future negotiations, few pilots would be willing to risk such punitive loss of seniority benefits and respect a strike.

United officials clearly expected less union solidarity. One management pilot who did not cross the picket line said the worst case company contingency plan anticipated flying 25 percent of its routes. In the first weeks United rarely hit 14 percent. Despite losses that may total \$10 million a day, however, United has substantial cash reserves and credit. But it appears to be having trouble with its plan to hire 600 new pilots a month to replace all strikers.

Employees as victims.

The push for concessions in the airline industry took off shortly after regulation ended. Unions had benefitted from the old regulatory structure, and industry wages were high. Competition—new entries and fare wars—threw the industry into turmoil. Although poor management accounts for the problems at many airlines, employee wages have suffered the brunt of attack. Concessions have been widespread, although there is no reason to think they have increased employment. Yet workers are tied to a particular airline and are led to compete with low-wage airlines by taking cuts. United pilots have given up \$360 million since 1981.

The biggest blows came in 1983 when Continental declared bankruptcy and unilaterally cut wages. (ALPA continues its strike against Continental, but Machinists and Flight Attendants recently ended theirs after many members had already returned to work.) Also in 1983 American negotiated a permanent second class wage at half the prevailing rates with its pilots (represented by an independent union) and mechanics (who accepted the plan over recommendations of rejection by Transport Workers Union leaders). Flight attendants and mechanics at United already have two-tier agreements that merge in the sixth year, similar to the tentative pilot contract. At five other airlines, all suffering varying degrees of financial distress, new ALPA pilots would start at roughly 25 percent or less below current rates and work up in five years.

But United is big and profitable. It had an operating profit of \$564 million last year. Any concessions there will simply force all other airlines, but especially the marginal ones, back for even deeper concessions, accelerating the downward spiral. Nevertheless, ALPA agreed to a limited two-tier agreement. Different union representatives offered varied explanations: a result of the give-and-take of bargaining, a necessity for competing against American, simply a variation of the graduated pay schedule already in existence.

Yet two-tier pay is different from older traditions, which themselves are now often milked for financial advantage, such as short probationary periods, apprenticeship, or even pay that increases with seniority. In its worst forms it simply establishes two different, arbitrary classes of workers at different pay. Now every employer—from hotel owners in New York to soft drink bottlers in Chicago—is demanding two-tier pay settlements as part of the bandwagon to drive down wages, even if they are not in highly competitive markets. Current workers who think they are exempt will find that they will be dragged down, too. And unions will find they have swallowed a time bomb.

A different breed

ALPA's all-out effort to make the United strike a success presents a somewhat unusual face of unionism. Although union officials talk about how they are borrowing from the sitdown strikes of the '30s in their efforts to educate and involve families of strikers as well as other United employees, many techniques and the ideology are a long way from the Depression decade. Before and after the strike, pilots, flight attendants and others were gathered throughout the country for long "teleconference" rallies linked by a private television network (and costing \$180,000 a shot). In addition to leaflets, taped messages were distributed, and the union established a sophisticated strike communication center that helped get out the word to win public support and to monitor United's performance.

The union has worked hard to develop a sense of solidarity, but the appeal hits a variety of emotional chords and does not rely heavily on typical union consciousness. For example, at the May 30 teleconference, one of the highlights of the evening was a performance by Charlie Plumb, a former Navy pilot who was shot down over Vietnam and spent six years as a prisoner of war. Plumb, who now works the public speaking circuit, gave an inspirational talk about the need for courage, commitment, being part of a team, serving others and the need for a support group—having someone reliable to "pack your parachute"—based on his experience in "a Communist prison camp." Since probably more than two-thirds of the pilots were trained in the military, linking military values and the hardships of war to unionism and sticking with a strike was clever if hardly orthodox union rhetoric.

Continued on page 6



IN THESE TIMES

The Independent
Socialist Newspaper

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors

JOHN B. JUDIS

(on leave)

DAVID MOBERG

Managing Editor

SHERYL LARSON

Features Editor/Staff Writer

SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

JOAN WALSH

Assistant Managing Editor/Books Editor

EMILY YOUNG

In Short Editor

BETH MASCHINOT

Editorial Assistant

SHERYL OLSEN

Editorial Intern

DAVID FUTRELLE

Correspondents

TIMOTHY LANGE, Denver

DAVID CORN, New York

Art Director

MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director

NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director

PETER J. HANNAN

Camera Operator

PAUL D. COMSTOCK

Typesetter

JIM RINNERT

Publisher

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Assistant Publisher

FELICITY BENSCH

Acting Business Manager

GRACE FAUSTINO

Circulation Director

BILL REHM

Advertising Director

CYNTHIA DIAZ

Office Manager

KATHLEEN GALLAGHER

Assistant Circulation Director

LEENIE FOLSOM

Business/Development Assistant

LOUIS HIRSCH

Circulation Assistants

ADELIA PRICE GEORGE GORHAM

DONNA JOHNSON

Advertising Assistant

BRUCE EMBREY

Fulfillment Assistant

PAUL BATITSAS

Receptionist

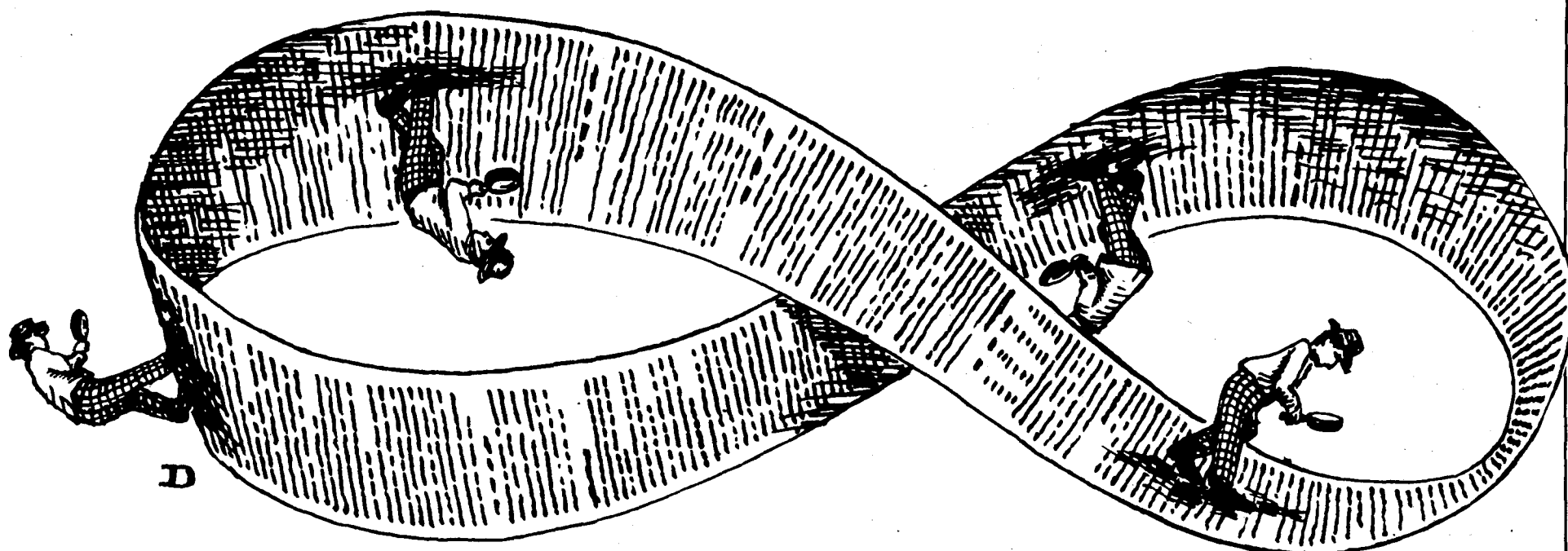
HANIA RICHMOND

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1985 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$29.50 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$35 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$2; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 9, No. 27) published June 12, 1985, for newsstand sales June 12-25, 1985.



INK/Bob Dahm

Reagan rearranges the tax law

By Jeff Drumtra

SURVEYING THE INEQUITIES AND special treatments contained in President Reagan's self-proclaimed "radical" tax plan, Rep. Andy Jacobs Jr. (D-IN) wondered, "Is this a 'second American revolution,' or is it actually a palace coup?" It's neither, of course. As lawmakers and economists began to wade through the 461-page proposal, announced by the President on May 28, what became immediately clear is that it has some merit but lacks the ingredients of landmark tax reform.

"This proposal...promises significant improvements, not a revolution," observed economist Henry Aaron of the Brookings Institution in Washington. Reagan is offering the public and its lawmakers a reform plan that doesn't rewrite the tax laws as much as it rearranges them.

Reagan's so-called Treasury II plan does remove nearly all poor families from the federal income tax rolls, thereby alleviating a 58 percent tax increase that has befallen people living below the poverty line since 1980. Reagan's reform package also doubles personal exemptions to \$2,000 for all filers and their dependents, raises the standard deduction used by low and middle-income taxpayers and paves the way for a modest shift in the tax burden from individuals to corporations. Average personal taxes drop 5 percent with Reagan's Treasury II plan, while corporate levies climb 9 percent.

No fewer than 65 tax breaks are plugged or curtailed by the Reagan proposal, including the second largest business tax loophole on the books, the \$25 billion investment tax credit. The entire Reagan package would fuel a 1.5 percent rise in gross national product within 10 years as it puts money into the pockets of citizens and frees the economy from shackles imposed by the current tax code, according to Treasury Department number crunchers.

The Treasury II package is not all silver lining, however. The tax reform plan the president trumpets as "a second American revolution" is a disappointment to many reformers. The package caves in to powerful oil interests by preserving the tax deduction for intangible drilling costs—a tax preference that Reagan's own Treasury Department had wanted to eliminate. It preserves the special tax exclusion for capital gains—a \$20 billion tax break primarily benefitting the wealthiest 4 percent of all taxpayers. The plan ignores Treasury advisers' recommendation to terminate the accelerated depreciation deduction for business.

It continues to whet business executives' appetites with an unlimited deduction for the three-martini lunch, while taxing all unemployment compensation and weakening the tax break for child-care credits.

Reagan's plan bestows an 8.7 percent tax cut on the average middle income family earning \$20,000-\$30,000, compared to a 10.7 percent tax reduction for families earning more than \$200,000. In still more vivid terms, Treasury figures reveal that a six-person family with \$600,000 could cut their taxes by \$70,000 under the administration's plan. Only a \$400 tax cut awaits a typical \$33,000 family of four.

Tax reform lawmakers have responded to the package with conflicting signals. Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ), co-author of a tax reform bill with Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO), hailed Reagan's plan with "elation." Gephardt, meanwhile, criticized the measure as a "tax retreat" that is "conceding defeat before the battle even starts." Gephardt switched bugle-calls less than 24 hours later, commending the president for a "far-reaching, significant proposal."

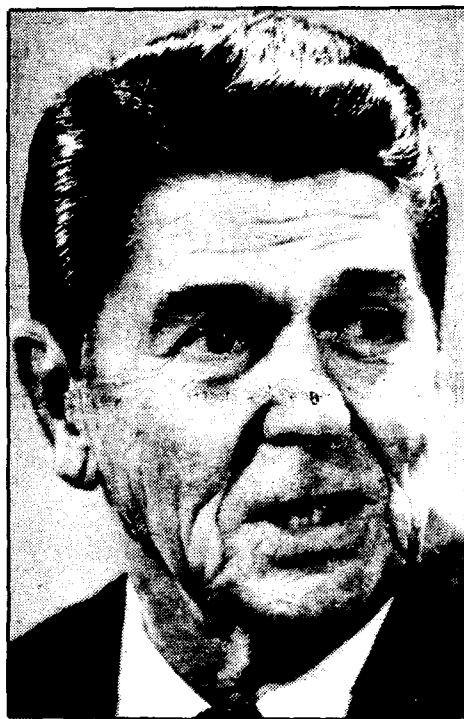
The hot-and-cold reactions on Capitol Hill reflect an awkward attempt at political positioning and an honest dilemma about the merits of the plan. Last November the Treasury Department had issued a tax plan, called Treasury I, that tantalized reformers with its purity and courage. It contained no oil tax breaks, no capital gains exclusion, no accelerated depreciation.

Treasury I "no longer exists," Treasury Secretary James Baker now insists to members of Congress. That means that previous statements by the administration's Treasury Department against low capital gains taxes and unnecessary oil breaks are 'inoperative,' to borrow a phrase from Richard Nixon's former press secretary Ron Ziegler.

The compromise package on the table, Treasury II, pales by comparison to its short-lived predecessor. "All in all," mused Aaron in comparing this plan with last November's reform proposal, "I think we would have enjoyed the movie if we hadn't read the book."

The greatest threat to passage of a tax reform measure comes from the interest groups that will keep congressional tax committees busy listening to testimony for two months. Up to 40 days of hearings are anticipated from 300 or more organizations. All lobbyists will be buoyed by the successful lobbying campaign mounted during the winter by the oil industry to preserve its tax break for intangible drilling costs.

The National Apartment Association has already labeled Reagan's plan "devastat-



Der Spiegel

The package caves in to powerful oil interests by preserving the tax deduction for intangible drilling costs. It preserves the special tax exclusion for capital gains—a \$20 billion tax break benefiting primarily the wealthiest 4 percent of all taxpayers.

ing." The National Restaurant Association terms it "totally unacceptable." The American Council of Life Insurance complained that the reform package would "increase taxes significantly and unfairly" in the life insurance industry.

Although the plan is Reagan's, the heat will be on Congress. Lobbying groups will attempt to brake the momentum for tax reform in the House Ways & Means Committee and the Senate Finance panel. Tax reform advocates, meanwhile, will attempt to insert bolder measures into the Reagan plan without criticizing it to death.

The gruff Ways & Means Committee chairman, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), was no friend of tax reform until earlier this year when he realized that the issue could carry him to the speakership of the House when Rep. Tip O'Neill (D-MA) retires at the end of 1986. Rostenkowski's challenge is not only to report a reform bill out of his 35-member committee and pass it on the House floor, but also to put his own imprint on the Reagan reform plan to assure that he and the Democrats receive credit for authorship.

For that reason, the conventional wisdom that powerful special interests will pick apart tax reform in Congress may prove incorrect. Commented one observer, "It's not a question of whether tax reform will pass. It is a question of who will get the credit."

As President Reagan whips up public support with his rhetoric—he told his audience in Williamsburg, Va., that it was their "duty" to cheat the current tax system "that is itself a cheat"—and as Rostenkowski maneuvers to take credit for fashioning a better reform bill, a rare convergence of partisan one-upmanship and bipartisan consensus could produce a tax reform measure in late 1985 or early next year. Tax reform could receive an additional boost, ironically, if Congress fails to tame the \$200 billion budget deficit and politicians find they must scramble for some fiscal accomplishment before the 1986 elections.

Conversely, Reagan's tactic of selling tax reform as a radical, anti-Washington tax cut that "get[s] the federal government off our backs and out of our way" could easily degenerate into a partisan war that subverts the prospects for a reformed tax code. Democrats will equate Reagan's anti-big government rhetoric with his bitterly partisan battle in 1981 to enact the Kemp-Roth 23 percent personal tax cuts. Democrats ripped that measure for its generous benefits to wealthy families.

Four years later, Reagan's continued preference for government-bashing and his current proposal's huge tax cut for the wealthy assures that partisan tensions will lurk near the surface in the bipartisan bid for tax reform in 1985.

Jeff Drumtra is editor of *People & Taxes* newsletter in Washington, D.C.

INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

Expansive education

Last week's graduation at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., was a joyful event for anti-apartheid protesters who made it an occasion to celebrate the involvement of graduating seniors in the divestment movement. "This movement has provided the best education that money can't buy," said English professor Dr. Laura Brown to an overflow crowd of 600 at a "Divestment Convocation" organized by the Cornell Faculty and Staff Against Apartheid. Exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus and UAW District 65 organizer Prexy Nesbitt also commended the students. Even one campus security officer joined in praise for protesters. Jim Morrisette, who said he carried "student after student, day after day" from the university's administration building during the recent arrests of more than 1,200 demonstrators, told the crowd, "We should be proud of the students who are active here at Cornell."

The "official" events were more confrontational. As President Frank Rhodes was giving a convocation address that included a paean to the protesters—"Love is a package of chocolate chip cookies that I received that said 'Don't take the protest personally, we still love you.' Speaking for the administration, we still love you, too"—a small band of protesters were attempting to hang a "divest now" banner over a stand in the stadium. Rhodes was all but ignored when the banner fell and a brief scuffle ensued between irate parents and students trying to retrieve their banner. Graduating seniors carried coffins and crosses to symbolize recent funeral processions in South Africa. Hundreds of students and faculty wore red armbands and carried black balloons that were released en masse at the end of Rhodes' convocation address.

That same weekend, Cornell hosted the annual trustees meeting, which at times had the air of a Keystone Kops comedy as a small but vocal group of protesters dogged after the trustees as they were shuttled from building to building to avoid the students intent on infiltrating their "open" meeting. The day after graduation, protesters were back to business as usual. Eighty of them occupied the administration building to protest the threatened bulldozing of the shantytown constructed on the campus by students. Though the students say they have a permit that allows the shantytown to remain standing "until Cornell divests," the administration says it's a safety hazard. Sam Lawrence, a resident of the wood and concrete structure, observed that in talks about tearing down the shantytown the administration hasn't been citing safety reasons, but has been telling them in not-so-subtle ways: "You've had enough free speech." Not so, say the protesters. "We have limitless endurance. We will be back," said graduating senior Liz Danzig.

Still a witness

In his book *Witness to War*, Dr. Charles Clements chronicled his experiences in 1982 and 1983 treating the casualties of war in a guerrilla-controlled zone of El Salvador. When Dr. Clements returned there in April he discovered that 10 of the 14 villages where he had lived and worked have been decimated by ongoing saturation bombings by the Salvadoran air force. According to Clements, the decrease in casualties and murders attributed to the death squads and government security forces since Duarte's election has been more than offset by the government's intensified war. "Since the introduction of the AC130s equipped with infra-red scopes that can pick up the heat of an infant at 10,000 feet," says Clements, "there is virtually no place in rural El Salvador where people can hide." Clements added that AC130s, coupled with the recently acquired AC47s with 50 caliber machine-guns aboard, make a deadly combination. "Those armor-piercing bullets are capable of going through a tree as thick as my body like a toothpick. None of the shelters where I took cover a few years ago would suffice today to protect civilians."

In a refugee camp in San Jose de la Montana, Clements encountered hundreds of his former patients who had fled their homes in Guazapa after it had been officially declared a "free fire zone." Many of the Salvadoran peasants were suffering from fresh wounds and burns that were a result of recent contacts with white phosphorous and napalm.

Clements, as co-founder of the Salvadoran Medical Relief Fund, was part of a delegation that also included Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, a lawyer and daughter of Robert Kennedy, and Caroline Croft, director of the

The Center for Constitutional Rights filed a motion last week in the Federal District Court in Boston seeking the Reagan administration's Nicaragua embargo lifted. The motion was filed by Shonkin, a Boston-based plastics manufacturer who claims that the embargo has jeopardized his current investment in the Nicaraguan plastics industry. Other plaintiffs include lawyers who wish to donate typewriters and other office supplies to the National Assembly in Nicaragua. Says CCR attorney David Lerner: "The administration has to establish that there was a national emergency—that Nicaragua was a real threat to national security—for it to be jus-

tified in calling an embargo. I think we have a strong case."

The Civilian Military Assistance group of U.S. mercenaries who've been fighting with the contras in Nicaragua—has put the word out for a fresh pool of recruits. American Indian Vietnam vets are in great demand, as the mercenary group searches for advisors for Miskito Indian groups who continue to fight the Sandinistas. Some North American Indian leaders have slammed the CMA's attempt, especially in light of the recently concluded cease-fire agreement between the Sandinistas and one Miskito group.

"Doonesbury" creator Garry Trudeau parodies the anti-abortion film *The Silent Screen* in a six-part series that has been deemed "too controversial" for the general public's eyes by Trudeau's distributor, Trudeau agreed and his distributor, the Universal Press Syndicate, pulled the series from national syndication. If you want to see the banned series, you'll have to dig up a June 10 issue of the *New Republic*, which gladly took the hot strips off Trudeau's hands.

British "class": a sign in a London park warns that "ladies and gentlemen will not, and others must not, pick the flowers."

RFK Memorial in Washington, D.C. Kennedy and Croft were along to present the first RFK Memorial Human Rights Award to the Mothers of the Disappeared who had been prevented by the U.S. State Department from coming to the U.S. to receive the honor last year. Many members of the delegation, including several Congressmen, objected that the Mothers of the Disappeared were refused their visas while Roberto D'Aubuisson, with numerous links to death squads, was given the go-ahead to address U.S. audiences. Clements described the delegation's meeting with U.S. embassy officials in El Salvador as "rancorous" and said that embassy officials were deceptive when they said that the Mothers of the Disappeared were "well-known terrorists" who are capable of anything short of "beating their own children" to further their cause.

Bailout in Brazil

On April 1, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank—stopped payment on \$209 million of a loan to finance deforestation and destruction of Indian lands in northwest Brazil. Friends of the Earth and 30 other environmental and human rights groups in the U.S., Brazil and 10 other countries have opposed continued support for the road-building and development project known as Polonoreste. Natural Resources Defense Council attorney Bruce Rich, a leader in opposing the project, said this cutoff was the first time the World Bank has halted disbursements for environmental reasons. Begun in 1981, the Polonoreste loan financed the construction of a 1,000-mile road through the state of Rondonia and Matto Grosso and opened to development an area three-quarters the size of France. The Brazilian government hoped to encourage landless farmers to migrate and settle in the region, half of which is covered by Amazon rainforest.

Though not complete, the project encouraged migration of 13,000 land-hungry migrants into Rondonia each month in 1984.

Brazilian ecologist Dr. Jose Lutzenberger, testifying before the House of Representatives in September, argued that the project "is a method of decreasing the risk and increasing the security of large landowners [in Brazil] by removing some of the rural poor from regions where they were born and dumping them in the Amazon." Stephen Schwartzman, an anthropologist with the Anthropology Resource Center who spent a year living with Amazon Indians, said development had brought migrants, many of whom are unable to develop sustainable farms or cattle ranches, into conflict with the 25 different Indian groups in the region. In an October letter to World Bank President A.W. Clausen, environmentalists charged that road construction and migration into fragile Amazonian lands contributed to "uncontrolled migration, accelerated deforestation, conversion of land to unsustainable cattle ranching, land speculation and increased encroachment on Indian land areas."

Environmentalists and human rights advocates persuaded Congress to hold a series of hearings on the project in 1983-84. These groups circulated draft testimony in both the U.S. and Brazil. Brazilian cooperation prevented Brazilian government and World Bank officials from painting project opponents as unsympathetic to Third World development. "The Brazilian input and the testimony of Dr. Lutzenberger were crucial," Schwartzman says. "If U.S. environmentalists had acted alone, the Brazilian government would have ignored them."

This week's contributors: Stephanie Fried, Diane Shumway, Connie Blitt, Dennis Bernstein and Robert Schaeffer

CHICAGO

THE "DISINTEGRATING" AFRICAN-American family is "the most important and alarming demographic development in our time," Roosevelt University urbanologist Pierre deVise said at a recent Urban Family Crisis seminar sponsored by the Chicago Urban League. The American black family is on the verge of "imminent collapse," deVise said. "Nowhere... is the evidence of rapid family disintegration more glaring than in Chicago's ghettos." To make his point, deVise cited findings based on newly released census data about black family life in Chicago in 1983:

- Two-thirds of the city's black children live in female-headed households. This is twice the rate in 1970.

- Three-fourths of black births are out of wedlock, compared to half in 1970.

- More than 95 percent of all black teenagers who gave birth were unmarried.

- One-fourth of all black births are occurring to teenager girls and the fertility rate for this group is more than twice the rate of any other nation where such statistics are kept.

"Economics, a more open sexual climate, the subculture of poverty and racial discrimination are among the factors that explain the escalation of illegitimacy and single-parent households," deVise told those assembled. "Only 5 percent of black teenagers hold full-time jobs, coinciding with a 5 percent legitimacy rate for births to black teenagers," he added, noting that he found a close correlation between unemployment rates and rates of illegitimate births.

DeVise is alarmed because he locates the crisis of the black family at the heart of the problems associated with the growing black underclass (crime, vandalism, community debasement, etc.). "Yet," he said, "little is said about it and less is being done about it."

About that, he is only half right. In the last few years, the plight of the black underclass has been the topic of dozens of conferences, a few books and several lengthy ruminations in national magazines. There is much being said about this problem. There was a period when many averted their gaze from the negative cultural changes taking place in this nation's inner-cities, but that ostrich-like approach is being abandoned as a growing body of research reveals just how pervasive and virulent are the problems of the underclass.

DeVise's findings on blacks in Chicago may seem extreme, but they differ only slightly from national statistics. Nationwide, two out of every three black women having a first child are single, compared to one out of every six white women. More than half of black children in this country (57 percent) are born to single women.

"While families headed by women have often proved just as effective as two-parent families in raising children," writes Eleanor Holmes Norton in a recent *New York Times Magazine* article on the black family, "the most critical danger facing female-headed households is poverty. Seventy percent of black children under the age of 18 who live in female-headed families are being brought up in poverty. In 1983, the median income for such households was \$7,999, compared to almost \$32,107 for two-parent families of all races, in which both spouses worked."

The conservative perspective.

Recent debate on causes and possible remedies of the underclass dilemma have been virtually monopolized by conservative theorists like James Q. Wilson, Thomas Sowell, George Gilder and Charles Murray. They argue that the liberal policies of the '60s are what led to the explosive growth of the underclass and the proliferation of aberrant social values this class engenders.

These conservatives contend that affirmative action programs exacerbated the problem of the black underclass because it increased the demand for highly qualified blacks at the expense of the less qualified;



SOCIAL POLICY

Black family's ills provoke new concern

that liberal tampering with the criminal justice system eased punishment for anti-social behavior and thus promoted it; that social welfare programs promoted dependency, inhibited self-reliance and has contributed to the rise in out-of-wedlock births and female-headed families.

While conservatives were honing their arguments and public relations techniques, the left, for various reasons, remained reluctant to address the problem. The left's perennial argument—that ghetto pathologies must be attributed to race and class oppression—failed to explain why the underclass expanded despite the passage of

the most dramatic anti-poverty and anti-discrimination legislation in history. This inability to provide a framework for understanding the distinctive features of the underclass from a left perspective increased the currency of the right-wing perspective.

Twenty years ago Martin Luther King Jr. sounded an alarm about conditions in the black family. He said it had become "fragile, deprived and often psychopathic." The statistics that provoked King's words of warning were gathered by Daniel P. Moynihan, who, as Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Johnson Administration, had authored an unflattering 1965 report

While conservatives were honing their arguments and their public relations techniques, the left remained reluctant to address the problem of the black underclass.

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 12-25, 1985 5 on the black family—"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action"—that presented evidence on self-perpetuating dislocations in the black family that made it a "tangle of pathology." Moynihan's full report stunned and angered the civil rights community and their hostile reaction to the report's discussion of illegitimacy, patriarchy, welfare and male irresponsibility obscured the study's call for a federal family policy and job-centered remedies. What's more, it made the left extremely gun shy in approaching issues of cultural behavior.

"Liberals became increasingly reluctant to research, write about or publicly discuss inner-city social dislocations following the virulent attacks against Moynihan," said William J. Wilson, chairman of the University of Chicago's sociology department and author of several books on race relations, in a recent lecture. "Thus, after 1970, for a period of several years, the deteriorating social and economic conditions of the ghetto underclass were not addressed by the liberal community as scholars backed away from research on the ghetto underclass, policymakers were silent and civil rights leaders were preoccupied with the affirmative action agenda of the black middle class."

Norton argues the delay has been costly. "When King spoke out, the statistics he characterized as alarming showed that two-and-a-half times as many black families as white ones were headed by women. Today, it is almost three-and-a-half times as many." Norton writes that "blacks themselves have been stunned by recent disclosures of the extent of the growth of the poor, alienated, female-headed households. The phenomenon is outside the personal experience of black adults," many of whom have overcome poverty and discrimination "only because of the protection and care of stable traditional and extended families. As recently as the early '60s," Norton adds, "75 percent of black households were husband-and-wife families."

The liberal revival.

In a 1975 book entitled *Race and Economics*, conservative author Thomas Sowell wrote, "Perhaps the greatest dilemma in attempts to raise ethnic minority income is that those methods which have historically proved successful—self-reliance, work skills, education, business experience—are all slow developing, while those methods which are more direct and immediate—job quotas, charity, subsidies, preferential treatment—tend to undermine self-reliance and pride of achievement in the long run. If the history of American ethnic groups shows anything it is how large a role has been played by attitudes and particularly attitudes of self-reliance."

It's the attitude and the system of values that determine a group's success, argue conservatives like Sowell. Interestingly, they find support from many black groups thought to be radical; nationalist groups like the Nation of Islam and the Republic of New Africa also stress a need for a cultural overhaul in the black community.

This call for values clarification is a call heard from segments of the political left as well. Books like the newly published *Habits of the Heart* and Christopher Lasch's *Culture of Narcissism* are seriously questioning the "value-free" biases of the left-liberal perspective.

But even if Sowell and the nationalists are right about values, the recent statistics showing how problems have worsened since Reagan's cuts demonstrate that withholding government assistance in the name of promoting values is too steep a price to pay. Figures show that conditions for blacks have deteriorated in virtually every measurable category during the Reagan years. Even a staunch conservative like Illinois Republican Henry Hyde has expressed some misgivings about his role in the growing levels of poverty. Conservative arguments are losing their momentum because they have become beside the point.

The publication of Charles Murray's book *Losing Ground*, was hailed by conservatives for providing what they considered

Continued on following page

United

Continued from page 2

Union leaders—and many pilots—also portray the strike as a question of professionalism, character, integrity and other values that appeal to pilots, who typically see themselves as people above the common masses. For example, union leaders frequently explained the refusal of most new-hires to cross the picket line as a reflection of United's search for the very best individuals, people of strong character.

"I felt it was an assault on the profession and on me as an individual and as an aviator," Capt. Dick Murdock said of United's actions. "I was upset with company tactics—very psychological, very mind-bending. I have only eight years to go to retirement, but most people who have a lot to lose would rather give up their jobs than give in to these pressures. They've been patronizing and condescending. This two-tier pay scale is insidious poison. I got a letter from a pilot at American who described their situation as 'war' between the young and old." Kim Newnan, a pilot for United for seven years, said "professional integrity" moved him to strike. "In the short term I wouldn't be hurt, but in the long term my career would be destroyed because of who would be brought into the profession." Pilots are convinced that lower pay will bring lower standards.

Professionalism also carries with it a sense of camaraderie and a feeling that there

are standards, such as safety, above commercial considerations. "I could not bring myself to fly for any personal gain I could get," Capt. Rich Miller, a United pilot for 31 years, said. "I want to leave something for future pilots. And I don't think it was good to have a cockpit where some people make half of what others make. I don't want to be in there with somebody who's unhappy."

"Safety is supposed to be paramount in this business, and it's being thrown aside for money," Murdock said. Another 20-year veteran worried that if the union were broken industry safety standards would slide. "I'd hate to see anything affect ALPA's force," he said. "The industry wouldn't be anything like it is without ALPA and its enforcement of safety."

Union leaders also tried to turn the pilots' identification with the company—a strong and dangerous undercurrent—to the unions' advantage. In a "specially commissioned" version of the popular song "We Are Family," and in other instances, the union played on "united" and "united family"—corporate images—to suggest that the strikers and their supporters were the real family. One teleconference speaker concluded, "We are going to take our airline back."

But there is also a growing recognition of the value of a union, possibly even of the value of solidarity with other unions who have supported the frequently aloof pilots. "I see no reason for the attack," Don Berridge said. "I feel like my best friend just stabbed me in the back—first the two-tier proposal, then the back-to-work condi-

tions. They were not interested in finances but in trying to tear down the pilots' union and all other unions on the property. This proves there is a need for a union. It's checks and balances. Now it's out of balance, and this (the strike) is a check. Since the Continental situation, people realize they have to support each other." Some sentiments seem to transcend the very different cultural passages to unionism.

Underclass

Continued from page 5

definitive evidence on the negative results of Great Society programs. Murray's book purported to present figures that made explicitly clear the causal relationship between social-welfare programs and increased poverty.

"*Losing Ground* initially drew rave reviews," recalls University of Chicago's Wilson. "But in the last several months, critics from liberal quarters have awakened and have responded with powerful criticisms that have devastated the central core of Murray's thesis." Wilson cites recent essays by Robert Greenstein, Robert Kuttner and Christopher Jencks as examples of this new liberal offensive. These authors all argue that poverty failed to decline in the '70s because of the contractions in the national economy. And the benefit programs that Murray attacks so vehemently actually kept the poverty rate from rising even higher. Wilson contends that *Losing Ground* "has lit a fire under liberals," sparking "a major revival in the liberal approach to the ghetto underclass phenomenon."

But at the same time, the revival of a more ominous approach may also be occurring. Ken Auletta, whose 1982 book *The Underclass*, explored the complicated issue of the black underclass in some detail, says that drastic solutions like involuntary sterilization and castration are also being considered. "These proposals are still in the whispering stages," he explains, "but

as this problem continues to grow, apparently out of control, those whispers are getting louder."

Auletta says his research on the problem "has made me realize that nobody really knows what to do. We have a fairly good sense of some of the causes: unemployment, welfare disincentives, lack of access to birth control, breakdown in values, no sense of consequence, faulty role models, etc., but we don't know to what extent each is involved. It's a complex, maddening dilemma. But if you have a repeat offender from the underclass and you can reasonably predict that his offspring are very likely to follow in his footsteps, castration seems to be a way out of the dilemma. And although it strains the constitution and violates our sense of ethics, it's very attractive."

Jesse Jackson said Pierre deVise's report on the state of the black family in Chicago was "painfully true," and that blacks "have to face the crisis without letting pride color our actions. There is not anything innately wrong with us that a Marshall Plan, a comprehensive educational and economic development plan won't help."

While Jackson has long stressed the need for black Americans to cultivate positive family and social values, his (and many other civil rights leaders) lack of defensiveness and forthright acceptance of the challenge indicates a readiness to face the issue seldom expressed in the past.

"The remedy for ghetto conditions is not as simple as providing necessities and opportunities," writes Norton in the *Times Magazine*. "The ghetto is not simply a place. It has become a way of life. Just as it took a complex of social forces to produce ghetto conditions, it will take a range of remedies to dissolve them. The primary actors unavoidably are the government and the black community itself."

Auletta contends that Norton's article is significant "in that she is explicitly calling for the teaching of certain values. This is a change for a card-carrying liberal like Eleanor and it portends some interesting days ahead."

Schilling Travel

away to discover since 1924.
We bring you a better understanding of the World's issues by bringing you closer to the World's people.

Brazil: The Bishops & the Bankers

4 Cities — Sao Paulo, Recife, Salvador, Manaus

September 3-15, 1985

722 Second Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

(612) 332-1100

1-800-328-0302
(OUTSIDE MINNESOTA)

BUTTONS—50¢ each (High quality lock or safety pin)

9. Question Authority
20. Minds Are Like Parachutes — They Only Function When Open
48. People Before Profits
56. Go Reds — Smash State
64. Sure, I'm a Marxist (see t-shirt art)
71. Wild Women Don't Get the Blues
74. U.S. Out of North America
83. Why Do We Kill People Who Kill People to Show People That Killing People is Wrong?
87. I Read Banned Books
88. Wearing Buttons is Not Enough
106. Teach Peace
107. You Can't Hug a Child With Nuclear Arms
108. If the People Lead, Eventually the Leaders Will Follow
110. Military Intelligence is a Contradiction in Terms
111. If You Think the System is Working Ask Someone Who Isn't
114. Nuke a Gay Whale for Christ
116. Another KGB Dupe for Peace
117. El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam
120. Oh, So That Explains the Difference in Our Salaries (art shows two toddlers examining their diapers)
121. Peace is Patriotic
122. Free Peltier (with "Eagleman" art)
125. Panic Now — Avoid the Rush
133. Don't Believe Everything You're Told
137. Lobotomies for Republicans—It's the Law
140. Cut Crime with Jobs — Not Jails
141. Don't Blame Me — I'm from Minnesota
142. It's As Bad As You Think — And They're Out To Get You
143. Nutrition Quiz (see t-shirt graphic)

HAND-CRAFTED COPPER & ENAMEL PINS

beautifully made jewelry

pins \$2.50 stars \$2.00

Educate/Agitate/Organize
Capitalism is organized crime
Feed the poor/not the Pentagon
Woman's place is in her union
Be realistic/Demand the impossible
Rape is violence not sex
Hands off Nicaragua
IWW Sabo Cat (black on red)
Red, lavender or black stars (½ inch dia.)

PRODUCTS FOR PROGRESSIVES

T-SHIRTS — \$6.95 each

(Sizes: S 34-36; M 38-40; L 40-42; XL 46. All cotton unless noted.)



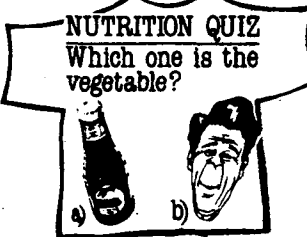
Einstein - "Imagination is more important than knowledge" white ink on black



It's 10 pm... - ten on olive drab 50/50, or black, black on red



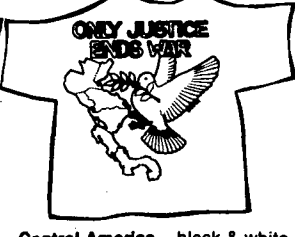
That's All Folks! white and gold on blue



Nutrition Quiz - red ink on tan or white



Dove - blue & green ink on white beefy t-shirt



Central America - black & white on red



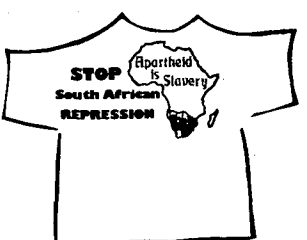
Career - black ink on red



Another Skin - brown ink on tan or yellow 50/50



Sure, I'm a Marxist - black ink on red, tan, lt. blue



Stop S.A. - green & red on black

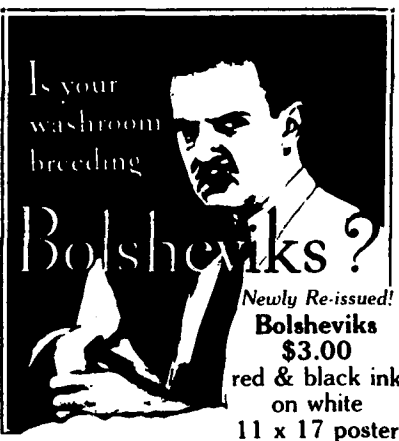


Join - white ink on blue, tan ink on olive drab 50/50



Farm - green ink on tan or lt. blue

POSTERS



Newly Re-issued!

Bolsheviks

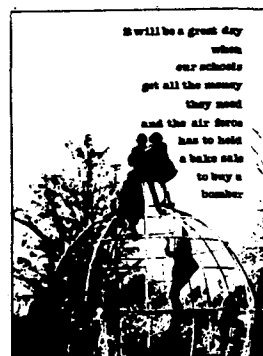
\$3.00

red & black ink

on white

11 x 17 poster

Schools Not Bombs
\$3.00
WILPF Poster
blue ink on yellow - 17 x 22



Many more items available in our
FREE CATALOG

Wholesale inquiries welcomed.

Mail Order Information:

Minimum order: \$3.00.

Please add \$1.00 postage.

Send check or money order with order.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

Northern Sun Merchandising
2736 Lyndale Avenue South, Box 1TT
Minneapolis, MN 55408
(612) 874-6409

By Steve Martz

WHEN MONEY TALKS, (SOME) Catholics listen. That seems the principal lesson to be drawn from developments last month in two highly politicized legal confrontations involving the Roman Catholic Church and the gay communities of Washington, D.C., and New York City. Together, these cases represent the most significant conflict yet between organized religion and gays, and their resolution should reveal much about the shape of relations between the Catholic Church and the gay community in the years ahead.

In the nation's capital, the lure of \$70 million in low interest bonds prompted officials of Jesuit-run Georgetown University to do a sudden about-face and announce their newly discovered willingness to recognize two campus gay groups. The development caught gay leaders by surprise, because for the past six years university administrators have adamantly refused to grant official status to the groups. The two sides have been fighting a bitter lawsuit over that refusal since 1980.

But with a key city council committee refusing—at the urging of the Gay Activist Alliance—to take action on Georgetown's bond authorization, and Mayor Marion Barry now siding with gay leaders, Georgetown caved in to reality. On May 2, the university's board of trustees authorized recognition of the groups and an out-of-court settlement of the suit.

In New York City, where gays have nowhere near the political clout of their confreres in Washington, they nevertheless hold the legal upper hand over the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York and two other religious organizations following a May 7 ruling by the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court. That three-to-one ruling upheld the constitutionality of mayoral Executive Order 50, which prohibits discrimination—including discrimination against gays—by contractors doing city business.

The order, issued in 1980 by Mayor Ed Koch is being challenged by the archdiocese, Agudath Israel and the Salvation Army, who claim they cannot abide the anti-gay discrimination clause because it conflicts with their religious beliefs. Cardinal John J. O'Connor, who heads the New York archdiocese, has said he would rather forfeit \$81 million in city contracts held by various archdiocesan-sponsored social agencies.

Whether O'Connor ultimately turns down \$81 million—or, like administrators at Georgetown, will find a way to reconcile religious principle and state dollars—should soon become clear. The New York Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, heard oral arguments June 4 and may issue a ruling by the end of the month, when contracts for the new fiscal year normally would have to be signed.

At issue in both cases are some thorny questions about whether measures to prevent discrimination against gay women and men can legitimately be applied to religious institutions that teach that homosexual behavior is immoral. The Archdiocese of New York and, until last month, Georgetown University say no. They say such regulations—in whatever form—violate their constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. Specifically, they claim abiding by such regulations would force the church to contradict its teaching about homosexuality by placing an "imprimatur" on behavior and a "lifestyle" the church teaches is wrong. At the same time, both the archdiocese and the university claim they do not discriminate against gay people.

Gay leaders say the willingness of society to apply gay rights laws and orders to religious institutions spending public money is a key test of how seriously society opposes discrimination against gay people. They say such regulations do nothing more than protect gays from arbitrary discrimination and call the imprimatur, or endorsement issue simply a cover for "garden variety discrimination." As one Georgetown student put it, "Their concerns about con-

fusing recognition with endorsement is the silliest thing I ever heard. There's not a gay person in the world who doesn't know where the Catholic Church stands on homosexuality."

D.C. Superior Court Judge Leonard Braman, the first jurist to hear the issues that have now been raised in Washington and New York, saw merit in both arguments and offered his own formulation of what is at issue. "This case," he said, "represents a dramatic conflict between the plaintiffs' right to freedom of association and the defendants' right to exercise their religious convictions."

The history of the two cases—filled as they are with see-saw rulings and unexpected twists—indicates just how difficult it is going to be to resolve that conflict of rights. The Georgetown case dates from April 1980, when D.C. gay attorney Ron Bogard, representing gay groups on Georgetown's undergraduate and law school campuses, filed suit against the university after its administrators overturned student government actions recognizing the groups.

Georgetown replied to the complaint aggressively, employing a leading Washing-

ton law firm, Williams and Connolly, to litigate the case, which quickly assumed a David and Goliath dimension.

The student groups won an initial victory in March 1981, when Judge Braman ruled the university had violated the city human rights law. But, noting the seriousness of the university's free exercise of religious defense, Braman ordered a trial to sort out the conflicting rights. At that trial, which began in February 1982, university attorneys made the argument that university recognition of the groups was tantamount to endorsement of their principles. And because those principles were really those of the entire gay movement, the attorneys argued, no Catholic-affiliated school could recognize them.

Rejecting the recognition-equals-endorsement argument, Bogard and his co-counsel noted the university had recognized Jewish groups without compromising Catholic teaching that Jesus is the Messiah, and women's groups—whose activities included pro-choice actions—without endangering church teaching about abortion.

But in October 1983, 20 months after the trial, Judge Sylvia Bacon upheld the university and ruled against the students.

IN THE NATION



The Georgetown case dates back to 1980, when Washington, D.C. attorney Ron Bogard, representing gay groups on campus, filed suit against the university.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Gays, Church clash in New York and D.C.

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 12-25, 1985 7

Her ruling was appealed to the D.C. Court of Appeals, which heard oral arguments in the case in October 1984 and is expected to issue a decision shortly.

The strangest twist in the case came last June, when Steve Smith, a Harvard-trained attorney who heads Washington's Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), noticed Georgetown had applied for authorization to issue \$70 million in city-sponsored bonds to finance campus renovations.

Smith immediately began lobbying the major and city council members, arguing that the city should not grant the university authority to issue the bonds until it agreed to abide by the human rights law. Although Mayor Barry, a strong gay rights supporter who owes his initial election in large part to solid gay support, was slow to commit to the GAA position, Councilmember John Wilson, chair of the council committee that must approve the bond measure, supported Smith.

Wilson then proceeded to sit on the bill until last month, when, under pressure from both Wilson and Barry, the university reversed itself and announced it would set up a two-tier recognition system that would give gay groups the same status as other non-academic campus groups.

The New York case.

In New York, Mayor Koch's 1980 executive order went unchallenged until early 1984, when the Salvation Army objected to it. Koch at first held fast, threatening to cancel the Army's \$4.5 million worth of contracts, but changed his tune when O'Connor, appointed archbishop of New York in March, also objected to the nondiscrimination pledge required of city contractors. "We would rather close our child care agencies than violate church teaching," O'Connor boldly declared.

Joined by Agudath Israel, an Orthodox Jewish group with one city contract worth \$513,108, the organization filed suit against the mayor. Instead of claiming religious exemption, as Georgetown had done and O'Connor was doing publicly, the groups' attorneys challenged Koch's authority to issue the order and sought to have the entire order—including prohibitions against sexual and racial discrimination—thrown out.

In October, Judge Alvin F. Klein of the Supreme Court for New York County did just that. Klein ruled the order violated the New York State Constitution because it "usurped the power of the City Council" and "create[d] new social policy absent a proper legislative basis."

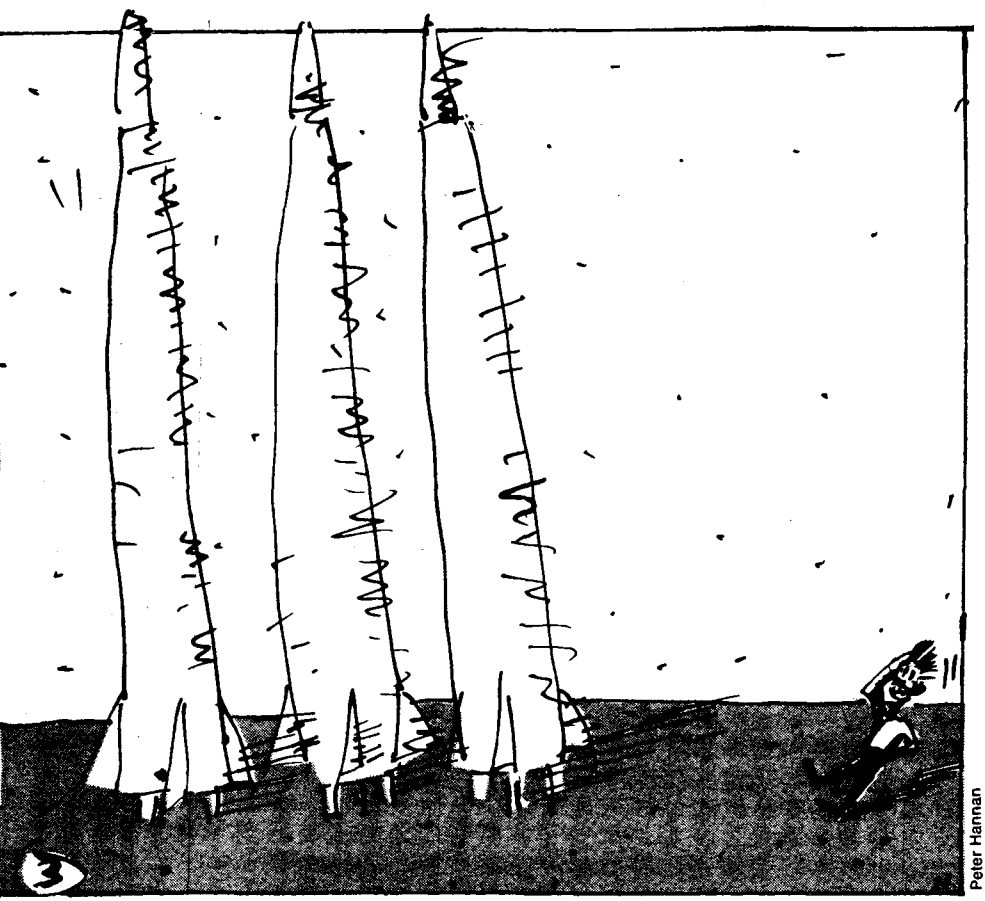
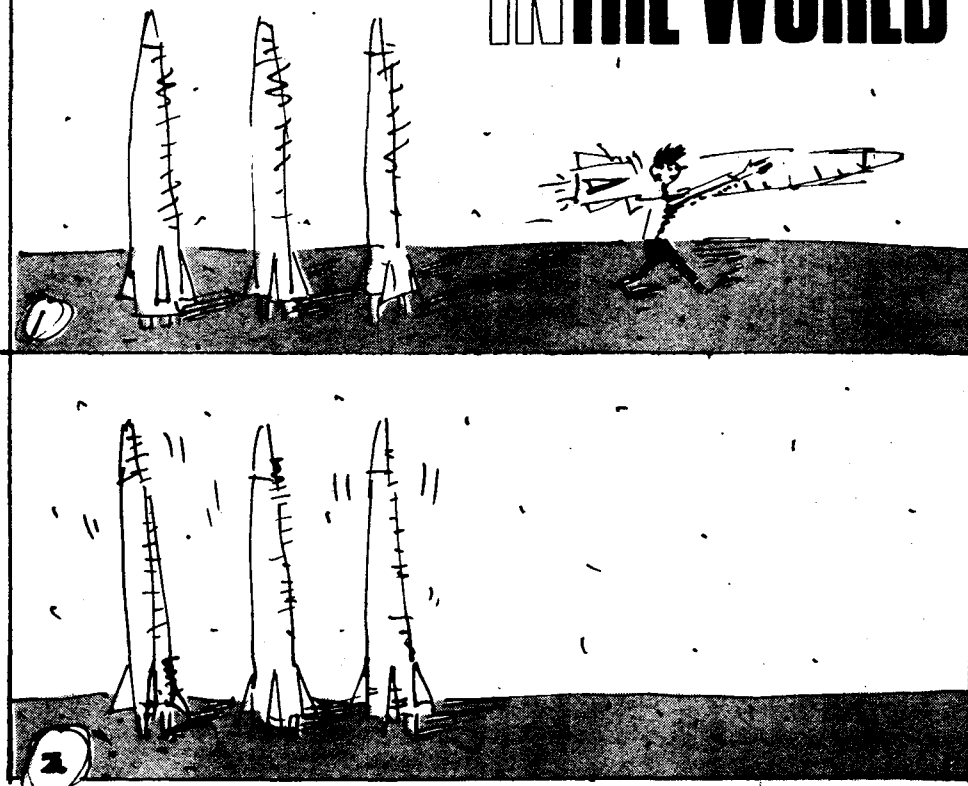
It was Klein's ruling that the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court overturned last month. Basing its decision on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court held "the Mayor is not seeking to create a new human right.... He is simply affirming what is a bare bone right under the federal and New York State Constitutions, namely, that agencies, standing in the shoes of the state, cannot prohibit the employment of individuals on the basis of personal proclivities that have nothing to do with whether they can perform the job adequately."

Meanwhile, the neighboring Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, which also holds city contracts to provide social services, pointedly has refused to join the suit. Officials there say they see no conflict between signing and abiding by the nondiscrimination pledge and being faithful to Catholic teaching.

Although these cases have been fought primarily in the legal arena, they represent more than simply a clash of competing constitutional rights that can be adjudicated and then will go away. They also involve a fascinating mix of religious and political—even psychological and moral—questions that will not be easily resolved. All ultimately revolve around the recent emergence of the gay movement as a public force at a time when the Catholic Church—and religion in general—is reasserting its political rights. Gays are not quite sure how to deal with the Catholic Church or other religious bodies, which they see—rightly—

Continued on page 22

IN THE WORLD



Peter Hannan

By Daniel Charles

NATO PLANNERS ARE INTENSIFYING efforts to upgrade the American short-range nuclear arsenal in Europe. While public attention has been drawn to reductions in the number of nuclear warheads in Western Europe, the Defense Department is planning to make the remaining weapons more effective.

Nuclear stockpile reductions—announced with fanfare at a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Montibello, Canada, in October 1983—call for a withdrawal of 1,400 nuclear warheads from Western Europe before 1988. When made, the decision was intended to take the steam out of protests against deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. According to the West German government, this “unprecedented unilateral step” demonstrated NATO’s “policy of self-restraint” in the face of ongoing Warsaw Pact arms modernization.

But while unilateral, the Montibello Decision had nothing to do with disarmament. In fact, it laid the groundwork for a little-noticed modernization and rationalization program encompassing much of the American short-range nuclear arsenal in Europe, starting with nuclear artillery. This modernization is now well underway.

As detailed by Pentagon witnesses in congressional hearings, production of a new nuclear warhead for 8-inch artillery has begun. A somewhat smaller nuclear warhead, for 155mm cannons, is scheduled to roll off production lines within two years. Research and development has already started on a short-range nuclear missile to replace the present Lance system.

These steps will be combined with moves to allow more flexible and rapid use of nuclear weapons. Increased weapon range, variable explosive power and greater speed of transport are important factors in the Pentagon’s calculation that it can reduce the number of nuclear artillery shells presently stored in Europe.

“Due to the greater effectiveness of the new [nuclear] rounds, the older ones can be replaced on a less than one-for-one basis,” Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said in his latest Defense Department annual report.

European public opinion, however, has taken almost no notice of this modernization program. West European governments have chosen to ignore it, preferring to emphasize planned reductions in the European nuclear stockpile.

It took persistent questioning by members of the opposition Social Democratic Party a few months ago to get information from the West German government on the short-range nuclear modernization proposals in a closed session of the *Bundestag*’s Defense Committee.

Parliamentary inquiries on the subject to the British Defence Ministry have been stonewalled. “No proposals have been

NUCLEAR ARMS

The arms reduction that never really was

made for [nuclear artillery] modernization,” stated Adam Butler, state secretary for defence procurement, before the House of Commons in January. He repeated that answer in written form on March 21. “No specific proposals have been made to or considered by NATO ministers.”

Military-political background.

During the ’70s, more than 1,000 warheads for Honest John short-range rockets were kept in Europe even though almost all these rockets had been dismantled and replaced by Lance missiles with their own warheads. Nuclear land mines and anti-aircraft missiles were also retained, although military commanders could conceive no sensible way to use them. Nuclear artillery shells were also strongly criticized, on the grounds that proliferation of these short-range (7-12 miles with the present shells) systems risked loss of political control over nuclear use and unwanted nuclear escalation of a conflict.

In 1979, NATO finally decided to withdraw 1,000 warheads from Europe, bringing the stockpile down to 6,000 warheads. In an effort to portray this as serious disarmament and to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union, the exact composition of the withdrawals was kept secret. The withdrawn weapons were, in fact, the Honest John warheads that had been lying uselessly in storage.

The Netherlands took the lead in pressing the rest of the alliance to continue the process of warhead reductions, particularly of short-range “battlefield” nuclear weapons. The U.S. Defense Department, led by Richard Perle, pushed for more limited reductions, with more extensive compensating improvements.

In the end, the defense ministers settled on a reduction of 1,400 weapons, most of them obsolete land mines and air defense warheads. Conventional weapons will take over these functions.

Virtually ignored at the time of the Montibello announcement, but more important, was completion of a secret background study within NATO that listed possible modernization steps to keep the arsenal “survivable, responsive and effective.” It was based on much more extensive Pentagon studies. “We had papers stacked up to here,” said one Defense Department official, gesturing three feet off the floor.

Trojan horse syndrome.

The secret NATO study was signed by the

defense ministers of the alliance, but little of its contents leaked into the European press. The fact that it exists, however, has allowed Pentagon officials to tell Congress that NATO endorses the entire modernization program. “The allies are, in fact, behind this development,” Defense Department nuclear affairs official Richard Wagner Jr. told a congressional committee in March.

And it has allowed Gen. Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, to establish a crucial link between stockpile reductions and modernization. The Montibello Decision called for Rogers to present a plan for implementation of the reductions at a meeting last March of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. Rogers also was given the job of evaluating modernization proposals, but no deadlines for reports were set.

At the March meeting, according to NATO sources, Rogers combined his reduction plan with a presentation of proposals for nuclear force modernization, implying that reductions are dependent on modernization.

Rogers has thus used European support for stockpile reductions as a Trojan horse in which to carry a comprehensive modernization program past potential political obstacles.

The program contains three basic elements: replacement of aging nuclear systems, geographic redistribution of the existing warheads and introduction of new equipment and operational changes designed to make sure that the weapons will remain available in a crisis or conflict.

Artillery warheads are first in line for replacement, and development of the new

NATO’s 1983 call for withdrawal of 1,400 nuclear warheads from Europe only involved obsolete weapons now being updated.

warheads is well underway. Next will be an improved replacement of the Lance missile (range: 60 miles) and introduction of better means of delivering nuclear bombs, such as short-range air-to-surface missiles or more advanced aircraft.

Redistribution of the present stockpile will shift short-range nuclear warheads away from their present concentration in the U.S. operational sectors in southern Germany toward northern Germany, and perhaps into Turkey and Italy. With modernization of 155mm nuclear shells, increased numbers of 155mm nuclear-capable guns in the forces of NATO allies such as Belgium and the United Kingdom would be certified as nuclear delivery systems.

To improve survivability, Rogers plans to upgrade security measures around nuclear storage sites, harden the shelters and improve the ability of NATO forces to move warheads quickly out of fixed shelters to hidden field locations.

European non-response.

So far, NATO governments have avoided a debate on the NATO modernization program. Major opposition parties in West Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom oppose nuclear artillery modernization, but until recently few of their defense policy leaders knew of the modernization plans.

“Elections can be lost on defense policy, but they aren’t won on defense policy,” said one German Social Democrat. The SPD, like the Labour Party in Britain, has not decided when and where it should take a public stand on the issue. If there is little likelihood that the course of events can be changed, some argue, the party should not waste efforts on an issue that will do them little good in an election.

The significance of the issue of battlefield nuclear weapons in Germany was recently highlighted by an astonishing poll taken among members of the West German armed forces by the military’s Social Science Institute. In response to a question on whether West Germany should still be defended if nuclear weapons needed to be employed on its territory, a majority of all senior officers said “no,” as did two-thirds of the junior officers and over 80 percent of all enlisted personnel. The Defense Ministry impounded the study, but word of it leaked out.

When soldiers responsible for battlefield nuclear weapons reject their possible use, the strategy that calls for them is in deep trouble. At no point does the suicidal dilemma of nuclear weapons become clearer than when considering their short-range battlefield use.

If it becomes clear that the modernization program is a step toward a more flexible fighting posture for short-range nuclear weapons, there will be plenty of fuel for an emotional debate on the subject in West Germany.

Daniel Charles is on the staff of the Federation of American Scientists.

By Dilip Hiro

LONDON

MOSCOW IN MAY, WASHINGTON IN JUNE. If this is a dramatic way of demonstrating one's non-alignment with the superpowers, then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has opted for it.

But in each superpower capital the agenda and the priorities are different. In the absence of diplomatic conflict between India and the Soviet Union, Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachov concentrated on strengthening economic links, while their defense ministers engaged in fruitful exchange and on cooperation in the weapons production field.

It will be different in Washington. Since Pakistan, the traditional rival of India, is the blue-eyed boy of the U.S. administration, President Ronald Reagan will find himself, willy-nilly, trying to dispel Rajiv Gandhi's fears about the supply of sophisticated American weapons to Islamabad and an impending manufacture of a nuclear weapon by Pakistan.

The Indians complain that the U.S. is not doing enough to dissuade Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq from pursuing his nuclear ambitions. They also point out that the heavy tanks and 155 mm. howitzers supplied by the U.S. to Pakistan are part of the \$3.2 billion arms deal of 1981, are suitable for plains warfare along the Indo-Pakistani border, but not in the mountainous terrain of the Afghano-Pakistani border.

Delhi is still upset about the 40 F-16 fighter bombers that the Pentagon sold to Pakistan, and fears that if the current negotiations about E2 "Hawkeye" AWACs system, with a radar range of 400 miles, are successful, the sale will make the Pakistani air force superior to its own.

There is another, wider dimension to this conflict between Delhi and Washington. For the past many years India has observed with rising disquiet and frustration an escalating militarization of the Indian Ocean by the superpowers, initiated by the U.S., which has dramatically built up its naval strength in the Indian Ocean. The Diego Garcia atoll is its main base, and it is only about 1,000 miles from India's southernmost point.

Remembering Washington's dispatch of one of its aircraft carriers from the Pacific to the Bay of Bengal during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971, the Indians fear that the next time around the U.S. will intervene on Pakistan's side with its forces in Diego Garcia and the American battle carriers stationed in the Arabian Sea around the Hormuz Straits.

That such fears are not idle was impressed on Delhi by the statement made by Deane Hinton, U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, on October 10: "If the contingency you're talking about is from the east [i.e. India], then we will not be neutral if there is an act, committed by anybody, of flagrant aggression. There are all kinds of things we can and would do."

Finally, there is the issue of foreign bases in south Asia. As a leading non-aligned nation, India is opposed to the idea of any of its neighbors leasing "strategic bases" to either superpower. This suits the Soviet Union—which has shown no interest in acquiring bases in this region—but not the U.S.

Having signed a military pact with Pakistan in 1954, the U.S. began using Pakistani airbases for the flights of its U-2 spy planes over the Soviet Union. Over the past few years the Pakistani port of Gwadar has been built up as a base for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. In addition the Pentagon has naval facilities at Trincomalee in north-east Sri Lanka. Rajiv Gandhi has let it be known that he disapproves of Sri Lanka's close relations with the U.S.

As the largest, most populous and strongest country in south Asia, India feels that it is the natural leader of the region. While the Soviets have not challenged this view, the Americans have never taken it seriously. Having drawn Pakistan into a military pact in the mid-'50s, the U.S. has steadily converted it into a client state and

integrated it into its strategic defense plans for the Middle East. Following the defeat of the left-of-center government of Srimao Bandranayake in 1977, the U.S. has gradually brought Sri Lanka under its wings, and is actively working toward the same aim in Bangladesh.

Indo-Soviet relations.

In contrast there has been no clash of political interests between Delhi and Moscow. In fact, on the issue of Kashmir—a bone of contention between India and the Russians since their inception in 1947—the Soviets have backed Delhi by repeatedly vetoing UN Security Council resolutions considered by them to be pro-Pakistani.

Delhi and Moscow formalized their relations in August 1971 by signing a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. "Each of the High Contracting Parties" declared that it will maintain "regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting their interests," and that "it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other Party."

When India attacked the then East Pakistan in December 1971 to help Bengali nationalists to found an independent state of Bangladesh, the Soviet Union supported India all the way through the two-week long war.

Military cooperation between Delhi and Moscow began in the mid-'50s, when—following its failure to secure production licenses for advanced weapons from Western arms manufacturers—India approached the Kremlin. Since then defense production ties between the two countries have grown stronger as India has tried to outdo Pakistan's acquisition of sophisticated weapons from the U.S. Today India manufactures MiG-19s and MiG-21s, and is about to commence producing MiG-23s.

Last year the Soviets tried to discourage India from diversifying its fighter aircraft procurement by offering it highly attractive terms. It sold a MiG-27 jet at about a quarter of the price of the comparable French Mirage 2000. And the Kremlin contracted to let India manufacture not only MiG-27 but also its successors: MiG-29 and MiG-31.

In the course of the recent talks between defense officials of the two countries, the Kremlin agreed to supply India all-weather tanks, a land-to-sea missile system, a radar system to cover all of the Indian coastline and nuclear submarines (along with the technology).

During his visit to the Indian port of Visakhapatnam in March 1984, Marshal Ustinov, the Soviet defense minister, said it is important for "the armies and the servicemen of both countries" to increase their combat readiness "in order to be able, in the event of necessity, to give a resolute rebuff to any schemes of an aggressor."

This corroborates the belief of U.S. officials that India has been according preferential treatment to the Soviet navy in its ports. India has neither confirmed nor denied such reports.

Approach to the U.S.

Following Delhi's decision last year to diversify the procurement of advanced weapons, India opened talks with the U.S. regarding the purchase of certain arms. Nothing came of it because, to quote Rajiv Gandhi, "the Americans put conditions that were just not acceptable to us."

The Indians underwent a traumatic experience during the Carter administration over fuel for the U.S.-supplied nuclear power plant in Tarapore. Congress opposed the sale of nuclear fuel because India is not a signatory to the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. A compromise was worked out, but Delhi is not prepared to

In each superpower capital, India's priorities are different.



Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is more anxious for computers, not weapons, from the U.S.

INDIA

Gandhi walks line between East, West

undergo something similar ever again.

Yet the prospect of Washington selling weapons to Delhi is not altogether dead. During his recent visit to the Indian capital, Under-Secretary of Defense Fred Iklé discussed the sale of C-130 transport planes, anti-tank missiles and artillery.

But the Indians are more anxious to purchase advanced computers than weapons. Their request for 19 computers worth \$11 million was held up by Pentagon objections voiced through Richard Perle. The Pentagon wanted tight assurances that the computer knowhow would not find its way to the Soviets. To smooth the way for Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the U.S., President Reagan intervened. The computers have either been cleared or alternatives proposed.

The timing of Gandhi's visit to the U.S. also accelerated the negotiations between the Indian and U.S. officials to reach an agreement for implementing the memorandum of understanding, signed last November, on "Indo-U.S. High Technology Transfer." The implementation agreement was signed in mid-May and includes computers, microprocessors, lasers, semiconductors and sensors.

Washington is pleased with the economic liberalization that Gandhi has carried out since assuming office in November. His first budget, presented to parliament in March, was so favorable to large companies and the rich that a *Wall Street Journal* editorial on the subject was entitled: "Rajiv Reagan's Budget." The headline was apt. The budget curtailed poverty alleviation schemes and limited the increase in public-sector outlays to 6.5 percent, well below the inflation rate. The rise in the previous budget for the public sector had been 30 percent.

In his interviews with *Time*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Financial Times*, Gandhi has repeatedly welcomed the idea of foreign—meaning Western—investment in India. The ministries in Delhi have been prodding businessmen to come up with proposals for joint ventures. Foreign collaboration is no-

thing new in India. During 1956-65 there were 2,500 joint ventures; and the figure for 1975-84 was 9,000. But the earlier ventures were mainly in heavy and capital goods industries; now the stress is on consumer durables.

Such a development has not been frowned upon by Moscow, which is unable to offer high technology. More importantly, the Soviets have all along followed a policy of aiding Third World countries to build up infrastructure—roads, irrigation facilities and power plants—and basic capital goods industries.

Significantly, of the two agreements that Rajiv Gandhi signed during his Moscow visit, one was for Soviet credits of \$1.2 billion at 2.5 percent interest, repayable over 30 years, for major mining and power projects. The other was a 15-year Trade and Technical Cooperation Pact. Trade between the two countries has been rising sharply. At \$46.2 billion this year, it will be 20 percent above last year's level. It will make the Soviet Union the number one trading partner of India, a position now occupied by the U.S.

How do Delhi's economic links with the superpowers fit into the Indian economy? Very well. For India has a mixed economy, and it is basically developing along capitalist lines. As Indira Gandhi, the previous prime minister, pointed out in an interview with the *U.S. News & World Report* in February 1982: "All agriculture is private, and all small industry and a considerable part of medium and large industry." The goods and services produced in the public sector account for only 15 percent of the gross national product.

All Soviet aid has gone into developing and expanding the public sector, which extends into both civilian and military fields. And most of the American aid has been channelled into increasing production in agriculture, which is in the private sector. ■

Dilip Hiro is the author of Inside India Today, published by Monthly Review Press.

PHILIPPINES

Warfare comes to the cities

By James B. Goodno

QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES

FATHER BRIAN ALLEN AND HIS guests were sitting down for breakfast when the first rounds of automatic rifle fire were heard in his normally placid suburban neighborhood in this Metro Manila city. At first, he thought it was fireworks heralding the opening of a barrio festival. When gunfire erupted 30 minutes later, at 9:00 a.m., May 21, he realized a firefight was underway close to home.

Some 200 military men and police officers had surrounded an apartment building one block away. Periodically, they would squeeze round after round of ammunition into a second floor apartment. "Trapped" inside was an Armed Partisan Unit—popularly known as a "sparrow unit"—of the leftist New People's Army (NPA). According to the military, the rebels were returning fire with Soviet made AK-47s, presumably procured on the international black market. But the observers believed that after the initial exchange all the gunfire was coming from the military—in front of and behind



Brian Allen

involved. Regardless, the clash vividly brought to the attention of city residents the reality of a war being waged in the nation and the likelihood of its coming to Metro Manila. And—though the military did not intend it in publicizing the encounter—the *ninja*-like escape from the surrounded apartment added to the rebels' mystique in this city where action films and comics are popular.

Prior to the shootout both the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the underground opposition were quietly preparing for an outbreak of fighting in the city. Isolated incidents of *agaw-arms*, or arms snatching, were attributed to the NPA in outlying sectors of Manila in recent months. During a mid-April press conference, leaders of the Mindanao branch of the NDF—to which the CPP and NPA belong—said partisan warfare would begin in Metro Manila by early 1986.

"We expect partisan warfare to begin on an experimental basis by the end of the year," a nine-year veteran of Manila's underground told *In These Times*. "The first actions will probably be arms-snatching."

Philippine Sgt. Culubong (above) lies dead after gun battle between the AFP and the NPA on May 21 in Metro Manila. Shattered windows (left) in Quezon City.

According to this NDF member, selected urban underground members are undergoing six months of intensive training outside Manila in preparation for the campaign. Members of underground groups in the city will be tapped for logistical support and intelligence gathering, he said.

Following the shootout, the military announced that it had uncovered plans for an NPA *agaw-arms* campaign in Metro Man-

ila and to assassinate a businessman in a neighboring province. The military also claimed the men involved in the shootout were responsible both for the May 1984 assassination of Brig. Gen. Tomas Karingal of the Philippine Constabulary—who headed one of Metro Manila's four police districts—and for the May 6 escape of detained journalist and alleged CPP central committee member Saturino Ocampo. Sources close to the movement say this is true.

Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile earlier warned of partisan activity in Metro Manila. He predicted ambushes of military and police targets, and liquidation of military, government and private figures deemed especially abusive. (Karingal's "blood debt" stemmed from the killing of two striking workers on a picketline by men under his command.) Enrile and other ranking military officials called such activity "terrorism" that resulted from failure of the underground to build mass support for its revolution.

The left disagrees. It believes partisan warfare can only succeed with at least a degree of popular support. In Davao City, leftists say, the partisan units can operate with relative impunity only because of support by many of the city's 700,000 residents and the neutrality of many others.

No one would say the organized movement is as strong in Manila as in Davao, but leftists hope they can tap latent support, especially from the urban poor, students and workers. (According to Father Allen, many of his neighbors from a squatters community broke into applause when the military came up empty handed upon entering the rebel hideout—such feelings are not unusual among the city's poor.)

Launching partisan warfare does not signal a final offensive or the abandonment of the still-held Maoist strategy surrounding the cities from the countryside.

"In the short run, partisan warfare will let people know that the movement is stronger than some people would like to believe or let on," said one person close to the underground. "In the long run, it could be much, much more."

Some in the open mass movement hope partisan warfare will stimulate popular activity. Said one leader of the open mass movement who doubts its ability to stage an effective "people's strike" in Metro Manila as desired by the end of the year: "Our people are asleep. Maybe partisan warfare will wake them up to the reality around them. They will no longer be able to ignore the political reality."

James B. Goodno writes regularly on the Philippines for *In These Times*.



Brian Allen

the apartment. Indeed, when the military managed to enter the said guerrilla lair, it was empty, save a handful of documents published by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the National Democratic Front (NDF). Six NPA members were said to have escaped.

The CPP has not confirmed that its members or members of the CPP-led NPA were involved in the clash, which resulted in the deaths of one soldier and one resident of the apartment, allegedly a member of the sparrow unit. But sources close to the underground movement said an NPA unit was

"A revolution here?"

MAKATI, METRO MANILA—"Can you imagine a revolution happening here?" asked a 23-year-old Filipina journalist as the air conditioned local bus rolled toward the still affluent appearing financial district in this once suburban Metro Manila town.

Indeed, today it takes some imagining. For since the beginning of the year, a somewhat illusory calm has settled over the city. Aside from striking workers—seemingly everywhere—signs of dissent are rare. The middle class and the affluent by and large became bored with protest. The poor are too concerned with survival to march. And even the organized anti-government groups are too concerned with organizational matters, consolidation and the like, to sustain public protest.

Newspaper headlines trumpet clashes between the Communist-led New People's Army and the Armed Forces of the Philippines in the hinterlands and in the provincial cities. The political pre-season—bickering within the open opposition, both its right and left wings, and jockeying for position in the opposition and the ruling Kilusang Bagong Lipunan or New Society Movement—vies for public attention.

But in the cafes and restaurants, even in the more proletarian beerhouses,

people are more likely to discuss movies, theater, sports and sex than politics. Recent productions of *Cats* and *Piaf* drew sizable crowds. Movie houses showing new Tagalog and recent American films do a booming business. The Philippine Basketball Association, Asia's only professional league, is once again playing before sizable audiences after one dry year. Even the trial of Gen. Fabian Ver, the Armed Forces chief of staff, and 25 others for the murder of popular opposition moderate Benigno S. Aquino Jr. fails to excite.

Soon though the politics of protest will once again command a prominent place in the city—if the left has its way. On June 12, Philippine Independence Day, the new *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* or New Patriotic Alliance plans to launch a nationwide campaign with a coordinated national day of protest. This year's campaign would peak with the commemoration of the second anniversary of the Aquino assassination August 21 and, possibly, with a *welgang bayan* or national strike on September 21, the 13th anniversary of martial law.

"We should know what we're capable of by August 21," said Elmer Mercado, the former chairman of the League of Filipino Students and a member of the Bayan national leadership. —J.B.G.

PARTNERS FOR PEACE: A TRIP TO

ISRAEL & JORDAN

JULY 31 — AUGUST 17, 1985

Highlights of the trip will include:

- Visits to Druze villages, Arab villages and Jewish settlements
- Meetings with Arab and Jewish Knesset members and other political leaders
- Seminars on various aspects of the Arab Israeli conflict
- Meeting's with the editors of various publications, Arab mayors and the Military Governor of the West Bank
- Meetings with the Jordanian Foreign Ministry; Discussions with Palestinian and Jordanian Academics and Dignitaries

The cost of the trip is \$1600.00. This includes roundtrip airfare from New York, accommodations, two meals per day and ground transportation.

For more information please contact: **Partners For Peace** c/o Givat Haviva, 150 Fifth Avenue—Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10011, or call (212) 255-2992.

The trip is being co-sponsored by Givat Haviva Educational Foundation and The Circle for Arab-Jewish Understanding

INSTEAD OF JUST THE EUROPEAN CUP soccer finals, 400 million people watched the spectacle of Europe sinking into barbarism telecast direct from Brussels stadium the evening of May 29. The drunken British soccer fans who armed themselves with pieces of the stadium as they tore it apart to assault rival Italian fans were everywhere described as a "barbarian horde." These were not the Huns or the Mongols sweeping into Europe from the steppes of Asia but the barbarians within a disintegrating society.

Margaret Thatcher expressed her "profound horror" and sternly condemned those responsible for the murderous violence that disgraced soccer and England. However, very many Europeans consider that "Thatcherism," the resolute destruction of the welfare state in order to return to the legendary golden age of free market capitalism, is indirectly responsible for the increasingly savage behavior of British soccer fans. In cities like Liverpool, whose team was playing the Juventus team from Turin in the Brussels final match, soccer is the main community activity left in the wasteland of a dismantled economy. Commentators stressed the destructive nihilism of working-class youth with no future prospects.

Sociologists will no doubt study the facts in detail, but initially it is evident that Britain's rampaging soccer fans who periodically assault the continent are not the poorest members of society, in an economic sense, since they can afford to travel and fill themselves with duty-free liquor all the way across the Channel. The poorest of the "new poor" are women and old people. Young males manage rather better for themselves. Their group behavior is as old as barbarism. In pre-historic Celtic Britain, young males ran in marauding packs apart from productive society, boozing and killing in joyful abandon. The scenes of mayhem at Brussels suggest that the mass unemployment of the '80s is bringing, not the pathetic poverty of the Great Depression whose victims awakened sympathy, but a return to the ancient barbaric detachment of male youth from productive activity in search of fun and adventure.

Competitive sports are frequently exalted for their civilizing role in sublimating the instinct for violence. Recent stadium behavior suggests the games are not sublimating but stimulating violence in a society based more and more purely on competition. The soccer team provides the only way for the mass of losers to count themselves among the winners. Both the sublimating and stimulating effects were evident in Brussels. Before the game began, the symbolic war between the Liverpool and Turin teams spread into the bleachers in the form of a real war. The British hooligans showed no quarter and no remorse, continuing to attack the Italian fans even after it was obvious that many were lying dead and wounded.

The callous indifference of the fans to everything but football was the most barbaric aspect. While the dead and wounded were still being cleared away, and rowdies continued to look for a fight, the match had to be played. Otherwise it was feared the rival hordes of fans would surge out of the stadium and destroy Brussels. So the players came out and soccer sublimated the violence, so transparently this time that the game itself emerged tainted. The Swiss referee saw to it that the Liverpool team lost: a British victory would have been unbearable. After Michel Platini scored on a penalty, there was the ritual celebration of the goal (the male egg fertilization) with the ritual ecstatic homophilic embraces.

The Italian *tifosi* are about as fanatic as fans can be, but the violence was indisputably the fault of the British. This seems to reflect a traditional violence in England where industrial capitalism never brought the degree of social and cultural equality that prevails on the continent of Europe. The urban sub-class of England has never been fully integrated into a society whose

class divisions are the most pronounced in the West. In the '60s, the decade of the Beatles, the integration seemed finally to be taking place. That was the heyday of the welfare state. But Liverpool has regressed from the gentle days when John Lennon was "more popular than Jesus Christ."

For centuries, colonization and imperialism have provided safety valves and outlets for the lower and upper-class violence of British society. Watching the pitiless aggressiveness of the British hooligans toward foreign enemies in the football stadium, it was clear what a fine source of mercenaries lies in the depths of British society. Only a few days earlier, it was reported that British mercenaries were among Reagan's "freedom fighters" killing Nicaraguans.

Survival of the fittest economics as practiced by Margaret Thatcher virtually re-

lions of people watching over television in Europe and Africa. The spectacle of brutality gave Europe an image of itself as sinking into a sort of chaos associated with the Third World. Civility was gone. The shock was very great.

The political repercussions will be hard to trace, but surely go beyond banning British teams and fans from European matches. The events in Brussels' Heysel stadium will reinforce Europeans' feeling that the social cost of Thatcher economic policies is too great for civilization to bear. At the same time, the spectacle contributes to the prevailing pessimism about the ability of mass movements to assure social progress. Soccer fanaticism is, after all, the largest mass movement today.

II

For the last decade or so, leftist hopes have been largely pinned on loose social

SUMMER LETTER

Soccer and modern European barbarism

"DIMMI
LA VERITA',
BABBO...
TU VOTI P.C.I.
PERCHE' E'
MORTO
BERLINGUER..."



"NO.
IO VOTO P.C.I.
PERCHE' E' VIVO
CRAXI..."



"Tell me the truth, Daddy... You're voting PCI because Berlinguer is dead..." "No. I'm voting PCI because Craxi is alive..."

quires colonial or imperialist wars of some sort abroad to channel the violence of the most brutish losers toward foreigners for the safety of respectable citizens at home. Margaret Thatcher was certainly sincerely horrified by the behavior of her fellow countrymen. The traditional way of dealing with such domestic savagery has been to export it. It may be that the current government of Britain will attempt somehow to channel young male violence in the traditional way, through military discipline toward foreign crusades and conquest. International football matches, like the Los Angeles Olympics, show how spectator sports can be a training ground for delirious chauvinism and arrogant xenophobia.

British fans have shown themselves to be the most savage in Europe, but those of other countries, if less wild and reckless, are also disturbing. The sight of Juventus fans jubilantly celebrating their victory a few hours after the carnage was one of the most disquieting visions of the whole barbarous evening. In West Germany as well as in Britain, neo-fascists have infiltrated some football fan clubs. Of course, sports fans come in all political persuasions, but mass cheering for "our team" can be a dress rehearsal for nationalist hysteria.

There have been even worse tolls from soccer stadium violence some 20 years ago, in Peru and Turkey. But this was a Cup match played in the very center of Western Europe, Brussels, with hundreds of mil-

movements (women, peace, gays, ecology) rather than disciplined political parties. But the decline in left parties has been followed by a certain decline in left movements, while rightist activity has been mounting first in the U.S., with the Moral Majority, and more recently in France and even Italy.

In both Italy and Germany, regional elections last May 12 dealt a serious blow to leftist hopes of translating disparate movements into electoral success.

In Italy, The Communist Party (PCI) failed in its bid to become the number one vote-getter through appeals to social movements (most notably by running a number of gay candidates on its lists). The "sorpasso" (surpassing the Christian Democrats) achieved for the first time in last year's relatively unimportant European Parliamentary elections was not repeated, and the declared effort boomeranged. Growing conservative Catholic movements, galvanized by the Communist threat and Papal encouragement, brought out the Christian Democratic vote. Despite its reputation as the most honest of parties in local government, the PCI score dropped from its 1984 high of 34 percent to 30.2 percent in the regional elections to only 28.7 percent in the municipals. This was disastrous for the PCI as only a very strong showing could have stopped Prime Minister Bettino Craxi's Socialist Party (PSI) from going ahead with its intention to drop the left coalitions that have governed Italy's major cities for years

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 12-25, 1985 11
in favor of centrist five-party coalitions identical to the one governing the country in Rome.

The PCI is back in the wilderness, barred more firmly than ever from national office (thanks largely to Reagan and the Pope) and now swept from office in the cities, provinces and regions. Only in Bologna and Florence did the PCI retain a chance of governing, in coalition with the lone new representative of Democrazia Proletaria (in Florence) and the Greens (in Bologna). These two between them picked up roughly the 3.5 percent that used to go to the Radicals, who ran no candidates. Backed by the German *Grünen*, the new *Verdi* got a national total of 1.8 percent and 11 seats in regional governments: a fairly modest achievement.

While the Christian Democrats held their own as top party (35 percent in the regions), Craxi's PSI made its best showing to date, going from 11.3 percent in European parliamentary elections last year to over 13 percent in the regions and provinces and nearly 15 percent in the municipals.

Italian Communists called the results "catastrophic" and "the end of the decade of hope." Dissatisfaction was general with Berlinguer's successor as general secretary, Alessandro Natta. The election results seem to have discredited his approach, inherited from Berlinguer, of seeking to achieve the

official party goal of a "democratic alternative" by allying with social movements rather than with the PSI so long as the Socialists, led by Craxi, are deemed hopeless. Without Berlinguer's peculiar moralistic charisma, this approach shows up as merely sectarian. Those in the PCI, notably its parliamentary and CGIL (general confederation of Italian labor) leaders, who insist on a political rather than a sociological approach to alliances, that is, on the definition of a precise program as a basis for working out a compromise with the Socialists, should now carry more weight. But meanwhile, the June 9 referendum on the sliding wage scale (*scala mobile*) is further pitting Communists against Socialists, with the risk of splitting the CGIL to create a fourth labor confederation linked to the PSI (after the CISL, Christian Democrat and the UIL, linked to the weakened Social Democratic PSDI).

The labor movement continues to be on the defensive, and the new social movements have been weakened by the widespread "return to private life" of leftists after the turmoil of the '70s. Now along come conservative Catholics saying that exclusive concentration on private life is irresponsible, that Catholic morality must be injected into political life.

The May 12 elections were a triumph for the *Movimento Popolare*, a conservative Catholic grassroots organization founded in

Continued on page 22

By Joan Walsh

SANTA MONICA, CA

ILL ZIMMERMAN MIGHT best be described as the left's electronic preacher, except people might confuse the Santa Monica-based media consultant with the TV evangelicals that abound here in Southern California. And then, Zimmerman doesn't preach to the left on TV, he preaches about it, to an audience that seems increasingly receptive to his pitch.

Zimmerman wins converts by helping win elections. His consulting firm, Zimmerman, Galanty and Fiman, has participated in 26 races, 20 of them successful, since incorporating in 1981. His firm has created advertising for Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, New Mexico Gov. Toney Anaya and Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL). He's done media for many California propositions, including the successful Nuclear Freeze Initiative in November 1982. Nationally he's produced freeze TV spots to target opponents of the measure.

He also has a track record on Central America, most recently doing *pro bono* TV and radio ads for SANE opposing *contra* funding. The campaign was vintage Zimmerman: the ads got network TV coverage when one radio station, Washington, D.C.'s WTOP, refused to air them because they were too "gruesome."

Zimmerman's success has helped sell a lot of skeptics on television's uses—he ticks off a roster of public interest groups currently using or investigating using television to push their message and candidates. It has also attracted a more mainstream clientele. He did media for Gary Hart's successful California primary bid—he wouldn't work for Mondale and got no response from Jesse Jackson when he queried the campaign. And he's currently working on New York City Council President Carol Bellamy's challenge to Mayor Ed Koch.

But Zimmerman's biggest challenge to date may be the campaign to win California Supreme Court Justice Rose Bird voter confirmation in November 1986. The campaign is already off the ground, 18 months before the election, and ZGF is running it all, not just the media effort. It's a campaign pundits predict will be cloaked in judicial dignity, in contrast with the frenzied conservative campaign to recall Bird, to make the argument that the Supreme Court should be above politics. But Zimmerman says, "Don't believe anything you've read about it. Everything's up for grabs in this campaign. Our style

has never been to meet emotion with abstraction, but with emotion."

Zimmerman became a TV convert when he managed Tom Hayden's 1976 campaign for the Democratic Senate nomination against incumbent John Tunney. It's a story he's told many times: the campaign traversed the state for nine months organizing chapters, sponsoring Hayden speeches and appearances, getting lots of surprisingly favorable press. In that time Hayden's poll standing went from 13 to 14 percent. Then the campaign went on TV with spots that Zimmerman himself wasn't particularly sold on. Hayden's share of the vote jumped 19 points in three weeks. Zimmerman credits it all to television.

With a Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Chicago, Zimmerman held various academic posts in the late '60s and early '70s while involved in the civil rights and anti-war movements. He lost a job at Brooklyn College for refusing to do research that had military applications, then worked at Science for the People and Medical Aid to Indochina. He gained national attention during the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation, when he flew in a plane full of supplies for the American Indian Movement members under FBI siege there.

But the Hayden campaign turned him into an

electoral junkie, with a particular weakness for television. He worked that campaign with now-partners Sid Galanty, a CBS veteran who wrote TV ads for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, and Jack Fiman, an expert in targeted media buying. After Hayden's strong but unsuccessful primary showing, Zimmerman and Galanty toured the state, proselytizing community groups to political television. Even today Zimmerman occasionally finds time to pack up the video equipment and give his pitch to local political leaders and campaign activists, walking them through a cassette of ZGF commercials explaining why they work.

They didn't work as well in the early campaigns, when ZGF did media for city and county politicians and some statewide initiatives. Two June 1980 initiative campaigns—one successful, the other not—were ZGF jobs. They provide an illuminating contrast.

The losing effort was a Tax Big Oil initiative, to tax oil drilled in California at the well-head. To this day it's the only campaign Zimmerman mentions as a sure loser that was worth doing anyway. The commercials were pretty crude—pigs feeding at a trough while oil industry profit statistics roll down the screen. "Tax Big Oil" turned into "Tax Pig Oil." Outspent by the oil companies more than 20-to-one, the initiative's backers lost, 56-44 percent.

The victorious ZGF initiative campaign that year, to defeat an anti-rent control proposition, faced the same financial disparity. But rent control backers had one advantage—they were on the "No" side of the initiative, which usually means just raising reasonable doubts about a measure is enough to defeat it. Zimmerman's ads went on the attack, accusing the initiative's sponsors of fraud because they tried to present the measure as a "fair rent" initiative that would help tenants. One commercial featured the other side making a commercial, with an actor posing as a tenant advocate supporting the measure. In walks Jack Lemmon to expose the charade, pointing out that "big landlords and speculators" were actually behind the proposition.

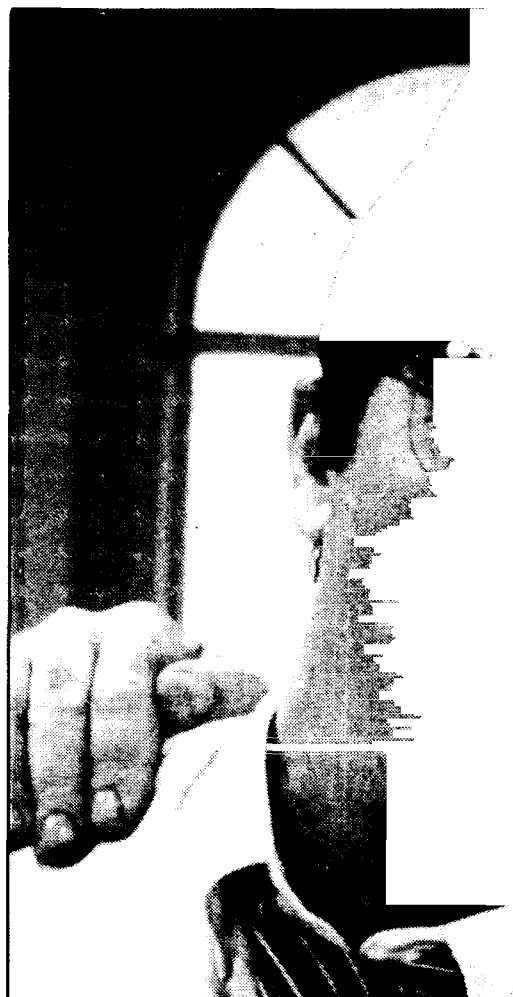
"A lot of people in the campaign wanted to educate the voters about the virtues of rent control, about power relationships between tenants and

landlords," Zimmerman recalls. "But we didn't want to do that. We developed a strategy accusing the landlords of fraud. We didn't want to raise the rent control issue at all." He believes the decisive margin to defeat the measure came from voters exercised about fraud, not the attack on rent control.

"Guerrilla warfare."

As Zimmerman crusades for a wider left use of TV, he's equally adamant about the way it should be used. "Television is basically manipulative," he says. "The left wants to use TV to communicate rational, logical arguments and information. But people use TV for entertainment and diversion, not ennoblement and education. So making effective political advertising is like making a movie, you use drama and emotion.

"It's also like guerrilla warfare. I'm usually with



Bill Zimmerman, Sid Galanty, and Carol Bellamy have been working together since 1981.

the candidate that has fewer resources. So I think you focus your limited strength on your opponent's weakest point. And you place education of the electorate in second place to getting votes—if you're in it to win. The left is ambivalent about electoral politics, they enter the arena but aren't sure they want to play by the rules. The bottom line is winning, getting all the votes you can. The way to win isn't always by taking the high road. Sometimes it's by taking the low road."

No one who has seen Zimmerman's commercials would be surprised by those statements. His ads are not for the squeamish, or the cynically

The Bird and Bellamy campaigns

The Rose Bird campaign is unique. From what little has been written about strategy so far, it seems the attempt will be to de-emotionalize this issue that conservatives have succeeded in getting people frenzied about. But your own media style is to go for the gut.

Everything's up for grabs in this campaign. Our research isn't through yet, but it may turn out we can tap into emotions as powerful as the other side. And we may have to undercut their arguments emotionally before we can deal on an intellectual level. Our style has never been to meet emotion with abstraction, but with emotion.

This is the most complex campaign I've ever been involved in, and one of the most complex that has ever been waged anywhere. There has never been an election involving millions of dollars on both sides when the office at stake was chief justice, and voters were being asked to confirm or deny. This is a situation in which a candidate cannot address the issues because the canons of judicial ethics prevent her from speaking about any decision she's been involved

in. She has to put her opinion in writing, and that's it. There's no opponent. It's an intense campaign 18 months before the election. This is a woman whose name is known to approximately 60 percent of the voters in California, but whose person and personality are unknown.

Will you use her in commercials? Is it important to humanize her?

I don't know. This is a candidate who occupies an office that most people feel would be demeaned by campaigning to retain that office. So we may not have use of the candidate. It may all have to be done with surrogates and third parties. Our major advantage is truth, and our second advantage is time. The opposition has gained the public's attention so far in advance of the election that we have time to communicate the truth.

Can this election help but be partisan? You say that there's no opponent, but there is—the Deukmejian appointees who fill the vacuum a no-confirmation vote would create.

The opponent is also the four campaign

committees against her. The opponent is the governor, the opponents are scattered all over the place. But we've got to turn that into an advantage by dividing the opposition, so that their campaign isn't speaking with one voice but with many voices. There are divisions on the other side we can exploit. For example, Bob Dannemeyer's committee has engaged in more virulent attacks than other committees. He's a potential candidate in the crowded Republican Senate primary in 1986. He set up the California Bird Watchers to further his own Senate ambitions. Well, one of his likely opponents in the primary is State Sen. Ed Davis, who is affiliated with Jarvis and Gann and the Committee to Defeat Rose Bird. So Davis and Dannemeyer have to work together on the Bird campaign, but they're working against each other in the Senate primary. I think we can do something with that.

What are you trying to do with Carol Bellamy—is Denny Farrell being taken seriously?

No. We're trying to have people understand this as a two-candidate situation. Farrell comes in a distant third with no chance of winning any serious segment of the vote. And he seems to have no campaign, no campaign budget. We

don't know exactly why he's in, but we're hopeful that before the deadline in July he'll find something to do, and there are some indications that might happen.

What we're trying to do in terms of Bellamy vs. Koch is complicated. To allow this race to be decided on the personalities, Koch wins. He's more entertaining, tells better jokes. So we to avoid the personality dimension, we'd like to ask voters to decide between two visions of government in New York.

In a city as stratified as New York, is there some comparison with Chicago? Can the "liberal guilt" approach be used?

No. But eventually we'll talk about the fact that Ed Koch has been a good neighbor for midtown Manhattan and the multinational corporations that live there not for the outer boroughs or the rest of Manhattan. And that has very little to do with New York deteriorating.

You have the very rich and even the very rich. I don't think that in any city is it like Chicago, where liberal played a role. I think this is economic self-interest. The middle-class, educated liberal types are on the other side of the line that Koch draws. The



Tom Hayden and Jack Zimmerman together

inclined. They fall into two broad categories—the borderline mawkish, heavy on children, senior citizens, happy families waving flags; and the alarmist, in which nuclear waste trucks careen toward disaster, military computers go on the blink and fascist mobs threaten racial and political violence. Some ads combine both.

His work with candidates on the political fringe, and somehow perceived as threatening, has made him a wizard at the humanizing ad. A Hayden for Assembly commercial in 1982 featured Hayden and his son Troy walking the streets of Santa Monica. Suddenly they're beset by a right-wing

mob carrying "Ban Hayden/Fonda" signs (the mob was played by Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy staff). "Dad, why's everybody so mean?" asks Troy. Hayden talks a little about his past. "I'm not the same angry young man I was in the '60s, but I'm still committed to building a better future for all of us," he says. The ad ends with Troy's schoolmates holding homemade signs that spell out "Hayden for Assembly," complete with childish backward letters.

Democratic populist Lane Evans, a former legal services attorney, also had to be mainstreamed for a conservative Rock Island electorate. Ads featured Evans in a folksy home setting, sitting in an armchair next to a photo of his grandmother, whose Social Security concerns he's discussing. Just visible in the background is a photo of F.D.R. Evans pledges to protect Social Security, which opponent Ken McMillan had threatened to cut, because "I don't want to lose Grandma's vote."

To elect New Mexico Gov. Toney Anaya in 1982, ads had to reassure Anglo voters that a Hispanic could represent them, too. Early spots focused on an elderly woman in her home, paying bills, while a voice-over listed Anaya's accomplishments protecting consumers and average citizens as attorney general. Late in the campaign, polls showed that suburban Democrats were "Getting pulled into a race appeal," Zimmerman said, worried about whether a Hispanic governor "is going to jeopardize my situation." The campaign responded with an ad re-enacting Anaya and his wife sending their daughter to college. The well-kept home, the happy family, the college-bound daughter all established Anaya as a card-carrying member of the middle class. It was pretty sappy. "It's a soap," Zimmerman responds. "They're the most popular shows on television."

In his Harold Washington campaign, Zimmerman used emotional appeals against racism most overtly. Race didn't figure much in the primary media battle. But in the general election, when it was clear that Republican Bernard Epton would court and win white Democratic votes on the basis

LEFT POLITICS AND THE MEDIA

of race, Zimmerman's ads were crafted to make people feel bad about responding to the racial appeals.

Early ads stressed patriotism, civic pride and national values of racial and ethnic diversity. They didn't do well. Later ads featured a multi-racial series of children saying the Pledge of Allegiance, with footage of a racial confrontation when Washington attended white St. Pascal's Church cut in. "That's why he's mayor," Zimmerman

Bill Zimmerman's company has handled media coverage for a wide range of left candidates since managing Tom Hayden's 1976 run for the Senate in California.

says, showing the ad. "The spot says nothing, but it lets people project what they think and allows them to bring their own emotions and interpretations."

Zimmerman went farther as the campaign progressed, and Pat Caddell's polls showed Washington slipping below the share of the white vote he needed for victory. A spot was produced showing a white teenager talking about how he'd lost respect for his father after his father said he wouldn't vote for Washington "because he's a nigger." But the spot went after the wrong voters and was never aired.

The campaign instead targeted the white liberal lakefront wards, where Washington's once-respectable support was slipping. The weekend before the election ZGF ran its toughest ad, a montage of footage from the Kennedy and King assassinations, Klan riots, the Kent State killings and the infamous St. Pascal's clash. Said the ominous voice-over: "There are moments in our history of which Americans are ashamed. One of those moments may be happening now in Chicago. When you vote Tuesday, make sure it's a vote you can be proud of."

The spot aired on all three networks at the same time. Its heavy liberal guilt appeal angered even some Washington supporters, particularly blacks, and it was pulled. But it had an impact, becoming news itself, and Caddell's polling said it swung the vote 3 percent, a decisive margin. Zimmerman claims it won the election.

Freeze Frame. But in an election as complicated as Washington's, can any one thing have won it? What if the black community hadn't turned out so massively, culminating more than a year of voter registration and precinct work? What if liberal whites hadn't zealously watched the polls to keep the Democratic machine from stealing the election? Of course black pride and liberal support might not have been enough to carry the election alone, and Zimmerman's media must be credited with gaining the campaign a share of the decent-

Continued on page 22

on the same side as the blacks and Hispanics.

While Farrell is still running, how much can you do with race?

Well, the black population is very much against Koch. And our polling shows that we are getting many more black votes than Denny Farrell. Black voters are very sophisticated. Black people do not like wasting their vote on a loser. They have a good sense of power relations. For that reason Harold Washington was far behind in the polls until two or three weeks before the election because black voters in Chicago still felt he didn't have a chance to win.

Are there things about Carol Bellamy personally that you want to convey? She's certainly had a problem in recent years with a public perception that she's lost her political bearings, that's she's wishy-washy.

This is an insider-outsider problem. Insiders are all preoccupied with Carol's "personality problems." Those problems have no meaning to outsiders, the voters. We've done all kinds of public opinion surveys in New York, and we don't find her having any personality problems. Voters see her as warm, compassionate, generous, having a good sense of humor. We don't expect to address those problems.

EDITORIAL



Look who's betraying the revolution now

The tax system is crucial not just to our personal material well-being and our nation's economic well-being, it must also reflect and support our deeper values and highest aspirations. It must promote opportunity, lift up the weak, strengthen the family and, perhaps most importantly, it must be rooted in that unique American quality, our special commitment to fairness.

—Thus spake Ronald Reagan

President Reagan's tax "revolution" may well reflect his deeper values and highest aspirations, but it will do little to promote opportunity and nothing to lift up the weak or strengthen the family. Even so, it has already given Reagan a

propaganda victory over his Democratic rivals, and, if passed, it will give a gigantic present to his closest friends and supporters—the truly greedy.

Of course, to give an aura of populism and a semblance of fairness, the president had to make a gesture to the poor, and he had to appear to be the friend of working people in general. Thus his proposal to raise individual exemptions and the standard deduction. But while these would save families with incomes under \$10,000 some 35 percent of their current taxes, compared to a savings of 10.7 percent for families with incomes of more than \$200,000, the actual savings of the low-income family would only be an average

of \$30, while the wealthy family saves \$9,500. And while health benefits of wage and salary earners may be taxed under Reagan's plan, capital gains taxes—the average millionaire receives more than 40 percent of his income from capital gains—would be reduced from 20 percent to 17.5 percent.

In the name of simplification, the Reagan proposal reduces the number of tax brackets from 14 to three, but while this is simpler, its main purpose is to reduce progressivity. This has been justified in other plans, including the original Treasury plan, on the grounds that a lower tax rate for the higher brackets would produce more income by eliminating loopholes that have allowed the wealthy to avoid paying anything close to the nominal tax rate. Under these alternative plans—Treasury I and the Democratic Bradley-Gephardt proposal—it was arguable that the lower rate for higher brackets was fair because most loopholes were eliminated. But under Reagan's plan the main element of fairness in the other plans disappears. As the *Wall Street Journal* commented, tax shelter buyers and promoters should "take heart" from the changes in the Reagan plan, which would "allow ample opportunity to protect income from taxation." With many loopholes back in the tax proposal—and others likely to be inserted in Congress—the main feature of the plan is a continuing erosion of the principle of progressivity.

Peacetime progressive taxation of income was at a high point in 1951 and has declined more or less steadily over the years since. In the 1951 act, taxable income over \$400,000 was taxed at 91 percent, and income of \$88,000-100,000 was taxed at 73 percent. This was reduced during the Kennedy administration to a top of 77 percent, and 63.5 percent for income of \$88,000-100,000. Again, during the Carter administration tax rates were reduced to a maximum of 70 percent, with income between \$85,600 and \$109,400 being taxed at 59 percent. Under the 1981 Reagan tax plan, a maximum of 50 percent was established for all income over \$109,400. And now, under the new Reagan plan—and under Treasury I and Bradley-Gephardt—the maximum tax would be 35 percent (30 percent under Bradley-Gephardt).

Reagan, along with many leading Democrats, defends this process as a

means of unleashing the entrepreneurial spirit. The idea is that high levels of taxation reduce the incentive to get rich, and that by taking this burden off the backs of the wealthy, they will be induced to indulge their natural instincts and invest in productive enterprise.

But it just isn't so. As Citizens for Tax Justice showed in a recent study of 250 leading corporations for 1981, '82 and '83, the 50 lowest-taxed companies actually cut investment in new plant and equipment by 22 percent in these years, while the 50 corporations with the highest tax rates—an average of 33 percent—increased investment by 4.3 percent over the same period. In addition, the 50 companies that paid the least tax and that cut investment increased their dividends to stockholders at a pace 30 percent greater than did the highly taxed companies. In other words, tax savings were not used to expand production and jobs, but were passed on to the wealthy owners.

In fact, the entire argument over incentives is a false one. As the *Chicago Tribune* pointed out June 2, figures for new business formations show that these vary with changes in the business cycle, not taxes, and that there has been little acceleration as a result of the 1981 tax cuts. Indeed, a look at the changing rates since 1951 shows no correlation between tax cuts and expansion rates. Reductions in taxes for the wealthy simply increase the disparities in wealth, and therefore of power in our society.

Consider this about taxation: ultimately all taxes are taxes on somebody's income. This is just as true of sales taxes and corporate taxes as it is of income taxes. Every tax has to be paid by somebody. The fairest tax system would tax nothing but income. That way everyone could see who is actually being taxed, and by how much. Under the Reagan plan there is said to be an average reduction in personal income taxes of 7 percent. This is supposed to be made up for by a 9 percent increase in corporate taxes. But, assuming this is so, who will ultimately pay the corporate taxes? How much of these will simply be passed on to the consumer through higher prices? How much will be a reduction in profits?

Our guess is that smaller businesses, those in more competitive industries, will have to absorb much of their increased taxes, but that the largest corporations, those in industries with administered prices—like military contractors and manufacturers of automobiles and other consumer durables—will pass the taxes back to the government and on to middle-income working people, who are the majority of consumers.

A genuine tax revolution would recognize the obvious truth about taxation and would eliminate all taxes other than income tax, which could then be adjusted to raise whatever money is needed to carry out socially necessary or desirable programs. Of course, that is not possible as our society is now organized because those who own and control our government cannot afford to do so openly. After all, we are a democracy. Governments have to be elected. The politicians may belong to the corporate rich, but they have to appear to represent the majority of their constituents. This, of course, creates innumerable tensions and compromises. It requires much of what is done to be camouflaged. And that accounts for most of the complexity of the tax code.

A fundamentally simpler and fairer tax code can't be expected in the current political situation. About the best we can hope for is that working people carry a smaller share of the tax burden than they now do. That won't be the case with the new Reagan plan. And from all indications, it won't be the case if the Democrats are not subjected to a lot more popular pressure than is now visible.

Subscribe to THESE TIMES

Yes, I want *In These Times* Send me:

- ☐ One year Sustaining rate for \$75.00
- ☐ One year for \$29.50
- ☐ One year Student/Retired rate for \$19.50
- ☐ Six months for \$15.95
- ☐ One year Institutional rate for \$45.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later



"I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week. It has articles and insights I find nowhere else."

Studs Terkel

Name _____
Address _____
City/State _____

For Faster Service: Use our toll-free number: 800-247-2160; Iowa residents: 800-362-2860.

IN THESE TIMES
1300 W. Belmont
Chicago, IL 60657

Your Guarantee: If you decide to cancel your subscription at any time, you will receive a prompt refund on all unmailed issues, with no questions asked.

STT1

LETTERS

A Letter to Poland

WE THE UNDERSIGNED FIRMLY PROTEST the arrest and trial of the Solidarity activists Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. As Americans working in the peace, labor and social justice movements, we affirm our human and political solidarity with all those working for democratic social and political change in Poland. Their struggle has long been an inspiration in our own work.

The continued arrest and harassment of labor and human rights activists in Poland makes a mockery of last year's amnesty and the government's professed desire for dialog and reconciliation. This trial can only fan the flames of the new Cold War and set back struggles for peace and democracy everywhere. As supporters of the American peace movement, we demand an end to these trial proceedings and the release of all political prisoners from Polish cells.

Steven Becker (Admin. Director, Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West), Noam Chomsky, Edna Coleman (War Resisters League), Frances Crowe (American Friends Service Committee), Darlene Cuccinello (Human Rights Coordinator, Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace), Gail Daneke (Co-Editor, *Peace and Democracy News*), Richard Baggett Deats (Dir. of Interfaith Activities, Fellowship of Reconciliation), Tom DeLuca (New York Mobilization for Survival), Patrick Diehl (Livermore Action Group), Ariel Dorfman (Chilean author), Kurt Ehrenberg (State Coordinator, New Hampshire Freeze Campaign), Daniel Ellsberg, Melinda Fine, Randall Forsberg (Director, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, and author of the nuclear freeze initiative), Joseph Gerson (peace activist), Todd Gitlin (University of California Faculty for Full Divestment [from South Africa]), Hardy Green (Corporate Campaign), Grace Hedemann Hane (War Resisters League), Judy Hempfling (Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West), Adam Hochschild (*Mother Jones*), A.W. Jackson (*Across Frontiers*), Joanne Landy (Co-Director, Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West), Beatriz Manz (Dept. of Anthropology, Wellesley College), Rev. Paul Mayer (Religious Task Force, Mobilization for Survival), Anthony Mazzochi (Workers Policy Project), David McReynolds (War Resisters League), Sam Meyers (President, Local 259, United Auto Workers), Roy Morrison, National Committee, Nuclear Freeze Campaign), Stefan Niewiarowski (Temple University), Gracy Paley, Marcus Raskin (Institute for Policy Studies), Paul Robeson Jr., Ruth Rosen (University of California-Davis Concerned Faculty), Judy Schekel (Traprock Peace Center staff), Pam Solo (former National Disarmament Coordinator, American Friends Service Committee), James Weinstein (Editor, *In These Times*)

Note: The statement was issued in response to an appeal to Western peace movements made by Adam Michnik, one of the defendants, in an open letter smuggled out of the prison where he is being held. The three defendants were arrested in February after a meeting with Lech Walesa. Others were also arrested at the same time and have been released, but these three have been singled out for trial. They are charged with working in illegal union structures and disturbing the public peace, and face sentences of five years in prison. The statement was initiated by the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West and Across Frontiers magazine. It was read in Gdansk the day the trial opened (May 23) by Joanne Landy, co-director of the Campaign. The trial was scheduled to resume June 3. For further information contact Steven Becker, Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, P.O. Box 1640, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025, (212) 724-1157. Organizations listed with signatures for identification purposes only.

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

British miners

JEREMY HARDING'S POST MORTEM ON the British miners' strike (*ITT*, May 29) is, with one major exception, a model of uncommitted journalism. On the one point regarding which Harding proclaims that "there can be no doubt," he is absolutely and disastrously wrong. Harding's lone firm judgment is that NUM leader Arthur Scargill's "stonewalling in one interview after another did no good to the strikers' cause." He adds that Scargill created a public image as a leader who believed that "violence by union members was a transcendent, heroic violence—justifiable under any circumstances."

Somehow this kept Neil Kinnock and center elements in the Labour Party from developing a "case for coal," according to Harding. In fact, just the opposite scenario unfolded during the strike. Scargill's "stonewalling" consisted of a principled refusal to let the press and Thatcher government define violence as the main strike issue. In every interview, he went back to pit closures as the center of the dispute.

His secondary theme was that the issue of violence had to be put in the context of the Gestapo tactics used in policing the strike. Kinnock, on the other hand, consistently lost the focus on saving mining communities by uncritically joining a hostile press and the Thatcher government in denouncing violence by the NUM.

Dave Roediger
Chicago

Misunderstanding

NORMAN BIRNBAUM (*ITT*, LETTERS, April 10) mistakenly interpreted my reference to Erhard Eppler (*ITT*, March 27) as a criticism. This was not at all my intention. In contrast to Oskar Lafontaine, who perceived the peace issue as a political winner, I wrote that Eppler joined the peace movement "as a cross he had to bear." By this I did not mean to suggest that this outstanding Protestant leader was in any way reluctant to commit himself, but rather that he appeared to take up the cause as a moral and intellectual duty, without any perceptible optimism as to the political outcome. I hope taking up a cross in this sense is not yet considered reprehensible. Evidently, a remark I meant quite literally was taken as a sarcasm.

Eppler was indeed among the very first SPD critics of Helmut Schmidt's missile deployments, and I believe I was among the first in the U.S. to report Eppler's critical analysis in detail (*ITT*, July 29, 1981 and June 2, 1982).

Diana Johnstone
Paris

Skeptic

AS MYSELF A MEMBER AND A RECENT graduate of the '80s academia (the University of Pennsylvania), I'm not sure my fellow students are, as you've put it, "Back on the front line" (*ITT*, May 15). I don't question their anti-apartheid sentiments, but I am skeptical about their long-term commitment to this cause and to societal development—especially once they earn their professional degrees, establish their careers and move into their condos. What will they think and do then? Follow the steps of most (and I mean most, not all) of the graduates of the '60s academia, who are now happily indulging the social-global system they had once challenged?

And isn't there already a built-in contradiction when most of these so-called frontliners reportedly voted for Reagan for yet another term?

I do hope that my suspicion will be proven wrong as we find out more about this new student movement.

Hotma P. Oppusunggu
Atlanta, Ga.

Merchants of death

HOW COME YOUR PEACENIKS NEVER argue they would lessen the causes of war by removing all profits from the manufacture of armaments by the murder merchants? When I was a debate coach in the '30s that argument laid 'em in the aisles at Winsauki High. But you never hear it anymore, and it created such a lovely fuss we even upped debate attendance. We even had Franklin Roosevelt on the affirmative for the few hilarious moments before his dollar-a-year-men, convincing him he was wrong, ended the war with billions in war profits. Surely today, 50 or so glorious just wars later, not all the peaceniks are silent on that score because of the heavy investments in General Dynamics and other keepers of the flame?

Richard T. Tench
Portland, Ore.

Harvester

AS THE CHAIRMAN OF UAW LOCAL 6 RETIRED Workers Chapter, I commend David Moberg's fine article on the plight of Harvester International workers, and how large corporations' decisions can devastate communities and workers. We put it another way: our economic lives depend on how intelligently the management operates its business.

In Harvester we have had our share of stupidity. The one that took the cake was the hiring of the McArdeil and Chandler team with its terrible golden parachute

provisions. I look back at the senseless authoritarianism of McArdeil and Chandler in the 172-day strike of 1979-80 and see a repeat in the United Air Lines attempt to break the pilots' union. In '79-80 McArdeil-Chandler believed that they were making an "investment in the future" by refusing to settle issues that really had no significance in the operations of the company. United Airlines is following the same strategy by demanding the most impossible terms. Super seniority for scabs, discharge of flight attendants for honoring the strike, excluding the pilot students from future consideration may be the dream of the anti-union law firm of Seyfarth, Shaw, etc., but a long battle seems to lie ahead.

I do have to take exception to the history of UAW-FE included in Moberg's article. It would take a long article to debate that issue, so just one point: FE locals switching to UAW never won voluntary overtime. We in Harvester never had compulsory overtime. That is why the '79-80 strike was so effective. Workers in the U.S. are the greatest defensive battlers in the world.

Carl Shier
Chicago

The black hole

BURTON HATLEN'S WORTHWHILE REVIEW of the biographical/critical study of Mikhail Bakhtin (*ITT*, May 22) underscores the general ignorance of Soviet literary and intellectual life in this country. Moreover we find in Hatlen's criticism that there is a willful corruption of Bakhtin's thought on the part of the biographers, a gratuitous attempt to place him outside Marxism and pit him against the Soviet state.

Régrétablely this is common. Americans are kept in the dark about Soviet writers through lack of publication and discussion or presented with authors in a distorted framework. A good example of this is Chingiz Aitmatov, one of the most popular contemporary writers in the Soviet Union. When his novel *The White Ship* was published in this country a number of years ago it was promoted as a children's book, or for young readers—which it isn't—and was prefaced with an anti-Soviet introduction attempting to cast Aitmatov as a dissident. No mention of his vast popularity and prestige or his Communist Party membership. Apparently no appreciation that Aitmatov could write critically of aspects of Soviet life without landing in jail.

Dean Stewart
Santa Barbara, Calif.

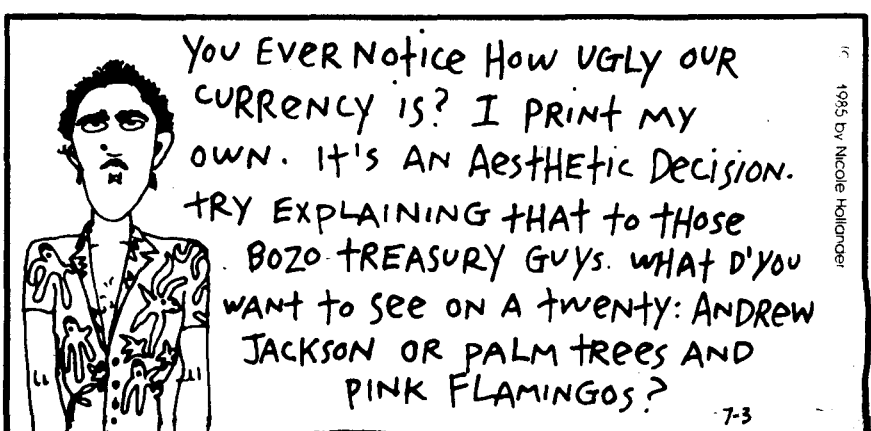
Correction

Photographs by Donald Cunningham in Vol. 9, No. 25 were incorrectly credited to David Cunningham.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



PERSPECTIVES

By Margaret Byrne

IN THE PAST MONTH, TWO ILLINOIS juries, one in Lake County and the other in Cook County, have returned verdicts of not guilty against political protesters who admitted doing many of the acts that formed the basis of the state's charges against them. In the case tried in Waukegan, protesters against U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. nuclear arms policy linked arms and sat in the street, blocking a gate at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center. Twenty-two persons were charged with mob action and resisting arrest. In the more recently tried case, demonstrators against the South African government's apartheid policy were charged with trespassing at the South African Consulate in Chicago.

In both cases the defendants presented the "necessity defense," based on an Illinois statute which states that "conduct which would otherwise be an offense is justifiable by reason of necessity if the accused...reasonably believed such conduct was necessary to avoid a public or private injury greater than the injury which might reasonably result from his conduct."

In the Great Lakes Naval Base case, the defendants presented evidence of the greater public injury that they were seeking to avoid: a witness from El Salvador testified that thousands of innocent persons have been killed or "disappeared" by the army or the death squads, with the training and support of the U.S. A journalist and college professor, Thomas Sheahan, basing his testimony on recent visits to El Salvador, described the government's system of murder, torture and political oppression, which is totally dependent on funding from the U.S. He tes-

The necessity defense aids protesters

tified about direct military field support as well as financial support of the Nicaraguan *contras* by the U.S. and the CIA.

Francis Boyle, an international law expert from the University of Illinois, testified that the interventionist policy of the U.S. in Central America and our nuclear arms policy violate international treaties and charters. Moreover, Boyle told the jury that individuals have a responsibility under international law to prevent, to the extent that they can do so, violations of international law.

Ex-CIA agent Ralph McGhee testified about the long CIA tradition of fabricating and disseminating misinformation about the military and political situations in countries where the agency is active, and in the American press as well. He testified that the CIA trained death squads in El Salvador.

The Great Lakes defendants included high school and college students, Catholic nuns, students studying for the ministry, a social worker, a child-care provider, women who set up shelters for the homeless, and a man who works with the Little Brothers, Friends of the Elderly. Defendants who testified told of their concern for the actions of their government in the nuclear arms race and in Central America. Each had tried other methods of communicating their concern to the public and to their governmental representatives. They had written, lobbied and visited sen-

ators and congressmen; they voted and participated in political campaigns, passed out leaflets and wrote to newspapers. They have been involved in other non-violent demonstrations and marches.

The defendants believed, however, that direct, non-violent action that may be a violation of a criminal statute was necessary and required by the urgency of the situation. They needed to be heard by the rest of us. In fact, they did reach many people with their message: the trial was reported in the news media and persons who

Juries have found two protesting groups not guilty.

arresting officers and jail personnel to the courtroom officials, heard the defendants' message. Significantly, the jury, to a great extent, was converted to the defendants' point of view. Several jurors have appeared on radio talk shows, wishing to spread the word about what they learned during the trial. The jury foreman thanked the defendants for helping him learn about what is happening to this country.

In the *Chicago Tribune* (May 15), Linnet Myers reported the reservations and disapproval of two eminent legal theorists of the University of Chicago. Professor Norval Morris expressed the opinion that the Great Lakes defendants did not "fit into" the necessity statute, and suggested that they should, instead, have argued that they were "morally justified."

There is, however, in Illinois no defense of moral justification, and the defendants would have been prohibited from making that argument. Moreover, as noted by Judge Alphonse Witt, who presided in the Great Lakes trial, as it matures and develops with use, the necessity defense may become viable in protest cases.

Myers also quoted University of Chicago law professor Brian Simpson, who stated that the use of the necessity defense "raises awful sorts of problems about where you'll ever stop about which are legitimate protests and which aren't." Criminal law purports to be a method of compelling people to act according to a

basic moral agreement as to what is right and wrong. Legal defenses to criminal liability, such as self-defense, compulsion and necessity, recognize that there are situations in which an individual must make a choice between evils. In our criminal system, the problem of where any defense must stop is dealt with, in a jury trial, by the jury. The jury determines whether the person asserting the necessity defense is entitled to avoid criminal liability for his or her actions; the jury decides whether the defendant reasonably believed his or her conduct was necessary to avoid the greater injury.

According to the *Tribune* report, Professor Simpson lamented that "some little court is not where issues like this should be thrashed out." Scholars at the University of Chicago may ponder and debate the philosophy behind the defense of necessity, but the circuit courts of the counties of Illinois are the places where criminal cases are tried. There is no other forum where the defense of necessity may be asserted.

Linnet Myers observes that "what the prosecutor [in the Great Lakes case] said should have been a short, to-the-point misdemeanor trial was carried into another dimension" by the necessity defense. The writer found that the anti-apartheid trial was similarly transformed from an "ordinarily routine trespass case." These are not, however, ordinary or typical misdemeanor cases. In both instances, the defendants broke the law in order to make a political point, to shock us into paying attention to what our government is doing in our name.

The fact that two local juries have found protesters not guilty, based on the necessity defense, shows that the jurors found that the defendants reasonably believed their conduct was necessary as a protest against their country's intervention in Central America, its proliferation of nuclear weapons and its support of an oppressive government in South Africa. As a Supreme Court decision (*Weems v. United States*, 217 U.S. 349, 373 [1909]) declared, "Time works changes, brings into existence new conditions and purposes. Therefore a principle, to be vital, must be capable of a wider application than the mischief that gave it birth." In "little courts" throughout this country—in Vermont, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois and other states—judges with the perspicacity of Judge Witt are recognizing that the principle encompassed in the necessity defense is relevant to protest cases. ■

Margaret Byrne was one of the attorneys for the Great Lakes 22, along with Shelley A. Bannister, Melinda Power and Janine Hoft.

Best Buys IN THESE TIMES

Ma, can I be a feminist and still like men?

Sure.... Just like you can be a vegetarian, and like fried chicken.



Lyrics from life by Nicole Hollander

"Mercy, it's the revolution and I'm in my bathrobe."

"Over the past ten years, men have increased their participation in household tasks... by six minutes."

More Sylvia by Nicole Hollander

by Nicole Hollander
St. Martin's Press
\$5.98 each

In this series of the syndicated "Sylvia" comic strip, the flamboyant feminist keeps up the steady stream of razor-sharp wisecracks aimed at the absurdities and difficulties of surviving in a sexist, consumer culture. TV, sexism and the New Right all suffer deflation from her darts.

OKAY! THINNER THIGHS FOR EVERYONE
SYLVIA ON SUNDAY
THAT WOMAN MUST BE ON DRUGS
HI, THIS IS SYLVIA
I'M IN TRAINING TO BE TALL AND BLOND
MA, CAN I BE A FEMINIST AND STILL LIKE MEN?
MY WEIGHT IS ALWAYS PERFECT FOR MY HEIGHT—WHICH VARIES
MERCY, IT'S THE REVOLUTION AND I'M IN MY BATHROBE

PRICES INCLUDE POSTAGE AND HANDLING
Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

Illinois residents please add 7% sales tax

Send check or charge: Visa Master Charge

Acct. No.

Expir. Date. Signature

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Mail to: Dept. A, IN THESE TIMES, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

TOTAL ENCLOSED

All orders postpaid.
Canadians add 15%.

Make a Living as a Social Change Activist

..... become a Public Interest Psychotherapist

M.A. in Psychology

A fully accredited MA in Psychology, offered in San Francisco, satisfying all academic requirements for the California MFCC license. A strong psychoanalytic and family therapy focus. Excellent clinical training, integrated with social theory, and attention to issues of race, class and sex. Drawing on insights of Freud, Marx, Sartre, feminist theory, object relations theory & family systems theories.

EVENING AND WEEKEND COURSES: Designed for working adults.
2 yr. program, \$4,000/yr.

Write: Dr. Michael Lerner and Dr. Peter Gabel, co-Deans
Graduate School of Psychology, New College of California
777 Valencia Street, San Francisco, 94110

PERSPECTIVES

By Alex Amerisov

THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE Communist Party of the Soviet Union will open next February in Moscow. The Congress will revise the Party's program, alter its by-laws and propose a direction in Soviet political, social and economic life until the year 2000. Four main topics will be discussed: (1) recapitalization of industry to take advantage of the new developments in science and technology; (2) reforms in economic planning and management, with the emphasis on greater rights for enterprises in decision-making abilities; (3) changes in employment and living conditions of the Soviet people; (4) improvements in what the Soviets call "socialist democracy and people's self-administration."

Speaking to the Party's Central Committee, Mikhail S. Gorbachov said the main difficulties "until now" were "inability to evaluate changes in objective conditions on a timely basis." He called on the party to "speed them [changes] up."

"The historic destiny of our country, the position of socialism in the modern world," Gorbachov added, "depends largely on where we go from here."

Housecleaning underway.

Commenting on the massive replacement of thousands of party, state and economic officials, *Pravda* noted that "the main criteria for evaluating leadership is going to be practical results." Echoing Gorbachov's warning to agricultural officials

Soviet officials have not explored the basis of widespread corruption, but they have given many striking examples of high-level red tape and theft.

to "stop blaming the weather" for poor performance, *Pravda* asked a rhetorical question: "Just why do such people remain in their positions for such a long time?"

Although *Pravda* failed to answer the question, it gave striking examples of red tape, corruption and theft at the highest levels of the Soviet government.

- The chairman of the Burayev District Consumers Cooperative in Bashkiria padded the report of plan fulfillment with hundreds of thousands of rubles of nonexistent production. He got large but illegal bonuses. Once discovered, he received a "severe" reprimand from a local party and criminal charges were brought against him. But he did not go to jail. He simply transferred to a similar position in the neighboring Yanaul District.

- In Irkutsk, a large city in Siberia, an A. Etingov, after being charged with misuse of his position for personal gain as the president of the local public utility, became an assistant to the chief supervisor of Municipal Services Corporation, and later, after more charges of financial manipulation he became president of a local beer company. It did not stop there. After finding himself with the reprimand for "financial violations," he became an acting deputy director of the province's Food Industry Administration.

- Bratsk, the pride of the Soviet Union,

and the place of one of the largest hydroelectric complexes in Siberia, was "riddled" with "large-scale theft and corruption." But law enforcement was lax because high-placed officials were involved. Moscow knew about this for four years, but did nothing. This time things changed. All of the city's party officials and management of the hydroelectric complex have been removed. But none are in jail.

Official corruption like this is all-pervasive. It requires networking at the highest levels: connections are a precondition for such activity. Groups of "embezzlers" had been found in Fizuli, Dzhalilabad, Kazakh, Pushkino, Adam, etc. Police, courts, states attorney offices are corrupt, too, and "themselves indulge abuses and lawlessness," according to an article in *Bakinskii Rabochii* by the head of Azerbajdjan Communist Party. They "conceal crimes, accept bribes and make illegal decisions." Even a member of the Republic's Supreme Court was implicated and forced to resign.

Ukrainian Party Chief, Vladimir Shcherbitskii, had to make similar "confessions." Thousands of officials have been dismissed or demoted in the Ministries of Coal, Power and Light, Consumer Goods, Ferrous Metals, Timber, Paper and Pulp. The leading figures in such Ukrainian provinces as Volyn, Kirovograd, Odessa, Chernigov, Voroshilovgrad, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Poltava, Khmel-nitsky and Crimea have been punished for receiving bonuses without producing anything, padding figures on plan fulfillment, taking the public's money and property for personal use, bringing havoc to the state economic plan by manipulating figures for private gain, misuse of state funds, large-scale theft in meat packing, dairy firms, trade organizations, cooperatives and retail stores, extortion for job-placements, for college and university admissions and promotion of incompetent and unqualified personnel because of family connections.

"Openness"—a new style.

Frank admissions like these in *Pravda* are long overdue. Gorbachov's rise to power has made it possible and necessary. In the media, the equivalent of the "housecleaning" campaign is a new campaign for "openness." It began with an article, "Speaking out about publicity," in *Izvestia* by A. Druzenko in February. This article started a new column in that paper. Hundreds of readers have responded and expressed hope and optimism that this time their criticisms will not be punished. To reassure them *Izvestia* published letters that have expressed a long-standing criticism of the system, which people have previously expressed only privately.

One person wrote, "Our problem is that you and I can speak about genuine openness on all fronts only in a private conversation over a bottle of brandy in your cozy kitchen and only provided we trust each other absolutely. After all, you yourself are also just a cog in the machine, and all you have to do is slip ever so slightly and the big gear wheels will grind you into powder. Isn't it so?"

Another correspondent, a war veteran from near Leningrad, wrote referring to present soviet "democracy" that "local party and soviet appointments are either never reported or reported on a meager scale."

Many letter writers discussed the application of this new "openness" in places of work. They linked it to the recently promulgated "Law on the Labor Collectives," which allows for much greater participation of workers in managing companies. At a recent lecture that I gave in Indiana, a panelist said that workers do not need freedom of speech, only intellectuals do. Therefore, he said, it is naive to expect workers to support political freedom. "Russian workers have the govern-

ment they deserve," he said.

But the majority of letters in *Izvestia* about a "democratic opening" are from workers. Many of their letters complain that factory meetings are nothing but "form without substance," that really important subjects, like production goals, modernization of equipment, health and safety issues, system of material incentives and personal policy are not seriously discussed.

In our opinion, the "openness" campaign will further open up the Soviet society—allow Soviet citizens to see better

only make Soviet society more successful.

It would be like taking a stool from under the feet of the man with a rope around his neck: capitalism would be forced to hang by its fingernails. Reagan knows it. Can he really, then, want the Soviet Union to be free of any political prisoners? Can he really want the Soviet economy to become more efficient and to reflect the needs of the average Soviet citizen better? Can he really want real democratization of "presently existing socialism"?

On the other hand, it is in the interest of average Americans for these reforms

Soviet newsletter: Real housecleaning

what kind of society they live in and prepare a new stage of struggle for Soviet democracy, for the abolition of the one-party system.

Pravda says that "openness" is "essential for the improvement of moral and political climate" in the country. We agree, but we will go further. Openness is an ability to select one's own boss. Openness is a precondition for further economic progress. Today *Pravda* is making a mockery of previous Soviet pronouncements about "real" democracy in the USSR.

This is good because none of those pronouncements was true. But the question of full rehabilitation of thousands of people who went to jail for "slander of the Soviet reality," who are still in jail or were forced to leave their country for foreign lands, remains unresolved. These people haven't said anything that *Pravda* and Gorbachov are not saying today. What about them? Without their full rehabilitation and recognition of their immense suffering and sacrifices, there cannot be a "new beginning."

The critics of the system should be let out of jails, and their tormenters placed in them.

My comment.

Stephen Cohen, writing on Soviet affairs in *The Nation*, notes the hypocritical attitude of right-wingers in this country with regard to reforms taking place in the Soviet Union. He ends by appealing to the Reagan administration to respond to Gorbachov's moves in the manner "worthy of a compassionate nation."

But what is good for the Soviet people is bad for the corporate establishment, and Reagan acts rationally in that regard. His attitude is a natural reflection of the interests of the people he represents. If Gorbachov's reforms really succeed, it will

to succeed. Burdened with high military spending, dragged into unwanted wars, placed in a position where they don't even have time properly to deal with crime, poverty, unemployment, political powerlessness, they would be more than happy if Gorbachov's reforms became a reality.

It would strengthen the hand of the working America in its fight against its own ruling class. Democratization of "presently existing socialism" and improvement in its efficiency would weaken the ideological barrier to socialist politics in this country.

Whether Gorbachov's reforms succeed depends on the activity of a democratic movement in the Soviet Union. Without a broad grassroots movement for change, reforms there will be half-done and half-baked. Progressive Americans should understand the connection between internal developments in the Soviet Union and the United States. They should help the democratic movement in the Soviet Union by declaring solidarity with it.

The connection between "reforms" and "international relations" exist on a grassroots political level, not on Reagan's. The struggle for peace creates conditions for the development of a grassroots movement in the Soviet Union, which in turn accelerates left politics in the U.S.

Building direct linkages between working people in the U.S. and the USSR is one of the most important things to do today. Involve your friends in building bridges. Have them exchange names with a Soviet correspondent. Those who want to correspond with a member of the independent peace movement in the USSR should write to me in care of *In These Times*. Do not forget a stamped, self-addressed envelope, or you'll get no answer.

Alex Amerisov, a Soviet exile, writes regularly on Soviet affairs for *In These Times*.

Become a charter subscriber.

A new monthly newsletter on Soviet society
by Alex Amerisov.

Soviet-American Review

To subscribe send \$23.50 for one year to:
Box S, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Please enter a one year subscription to *Soviet-American Review*.
Enclosed is my check for \$23.50.

Later the Same Day

By Grace Paley

Farrar Straus Giroux, 211 pp., \$13.95

By Paul Skenazy

GRACE PALEY WRITES very little and writes very undramatically. She makes you wait for her work (three short story collections in 25 years), and her total output (*The Little Disturbances of Man*, *Enormous Changes at the Last Minute* and this new volume) occupies less room on a bookshelf than one Robert Ludlum thriller.

But over the years, Paley has acquired a loyal audience of addicts like myself who have in part learned to read our world through her prose, and who return to her again and again for another fix of that wry, associative storytelling that she has copyrighted. In her own way, she has provided snapshots of our changing fashions and ongoing passions, has made us laugh at our moral and aesthetic pretensions while reminding us of the need to resist collusion with wrong.

Paley writes about trying to be a good neighbor in a not-so-good world. In the most urban of voices, she draws us into the inanities of daily habit and obligation: arguments at home, trips to the drug-

gist, meetings with acquaintances at the lettuce bin. Her territory is the landscape of petty necessity, her characters housewives and divorced mothers who travel through this terrain: "You could see them walking around on a sunny day, dragging a couple kids, a carriage, a bike, beautiful girls, but tired from all day, mostly divorced, going home alone?"

Her plots consist of snippets, asides, nonsequiturs, the kind of awkward, distracting incidents that fill up one's days, frustrate (and initiate) one's dreams, control one's migrations along city streets and among friends. As she says in an earlier book, she resists linear plot and closure "not for literary reasons, but because it takes all hope away. Everyone, real or invented, deserves the open destiny of life."

In her three slim volumes, Paley has produced something like a

Manhattan serial, a miniature Yoknapatawpha County of the sidewalk and tenement, of a neighborhood where the local deli names its sandwiches after the customers who live nearby. Returning to the same characters in story after story, year after year, her tiny vignettes introduce readers to a small circle of beleaguered and often improvident figures who do battle with themselves and each other to keep things from running down any more than they have, to keep their lives from slipping by, to keep their apartments and blocks and parks from being consumed by the city around them.

The heroine of this community is Faith (alter ego of writer Grace), who moves from lover to lover, cause to cause. She fights with children and parents, with the local institutions and with the times that have turned New York City into "fields of garbage and

broken brick" where "the people suffer and struggle [and] their children turn round and round in one place, growing first in beauty, then in rage." Faith is the central register of how the world has altered despite and through one's best efforts to curb its drift, how friends have changed and children grown along and against the grain of one's hopes and determination.

Being a good neighbor in Paley's stories means learning to be a good friend, a worker for peace, a protestor against plans for a new roadway, a decent mother and daughter, an honest writer who will tell the untold stories of the other neighbors who aren't yet speaking up for themselves, or being heard when they do. Her neighborhood of rundown buildings and basement meeting rooms includes Chinese poets, black gangs sitting on a Bronx stairway, Salvadoran refugees seeking shelter and city workers on strike.

Later the Same Day, as its title suggests, is another set of episodes in this ongoing series of reports on the latest travails and travels of Faith and her friends. Though it shares the concerns of the earlier volumes, it lacks some of the flair, the tanglings of metaphor and leaps of intuition of her previous work. A few of the stories are barely sketches, a couple go on too long. Sometimes the political

ideas sit in the sentences like undigested rhetoric. At other moments, the everydayness and warm friendships seem unmitigated by reality—too cute, too cozy, represented in a prose more congratulatory than observant. The pleasures seem undeserved, the sentiment as comfortable and enveloping as an overstuffed chair. Such pieces lack that edge of squalor and that skill at self-deprecation that kept emotion uncorrupted in the other two books.

Pedestrian activities.

As is typical of Paley, the stories in this new volume are about the most pedestrian and everyday circumstances and activities: boys playing with their mother on a beach, a trip to a retirement home, women in the kitchen celebrating a birthday, friends getting older. A climax might be the discovery of the beauty of slot machines, the decision to make up with an old friend, the pleasures of walking and talking in the park.

There are rewards aplenty in the book, including some pieces one just shouldn't live without: "Friends," for example, is a tender, passionate story of three women talking to a friend who is about to die of cancer and whom they will not see again. Never maudlin, never high-minded, it is a love story of commonplaces: reminiscences about children, allusions to husbands and lovers, exchanges of photographs, angry and pained memories of past slights. There is no effort at resolution, only the steady beat of voice speaking to voice, person to person. The conversation loops round and about; the effect of the talk is choral, almost baroque. It is all wonderfully simple, wonderfully true, reminding us of just what our best talks with lifelong companions can be like.

Other stories—"The Story Hearer," "Zagrowsky Tells," "Dreamer in a Dead Language," "The Expensive Moment"—are almost as fine. Paley is able to wander in and out of Faith's optimistic, if often exasperated, point of view to laugh at her, un-
Grace Paley at an anti-nuke rally.

Storytelling: a family tradition

Like her fiction, much of Grace Paley's world revolves around a little slice of New York—Manhattan's Greenwich Village. But her sensibilities and interests are hardly parochial. To many of her neighbors Paley is far more recognizable as the roundish grandmotherly woman handing out protest literature on the corner of 11th Street and 6th Avenue than as an acclaimed author of three books.

Paley has described herself as an undisciplined writer, but really her slowness is the result of the full life she leads. As she explained to the *Washington Post*, "There had been long periods of my life when I was bringing up my two kids and playing with them at the playground or working on political things and the stories had to wait. I've let all that happen. No regrets. The stories come when they come."

Her political activism began in the local PTA when her children, Nora, now 35, and Dan, 33, were attending PS41 in the Village. She worked toward integrating the schools, saving trees and keeping buses out of Washington Square

FICTION**Grace Paley's
Manhattan serial**

ORAL HISTORY

Appreciating Studs Terkel's craft

dercut her political "rightness," poke fun at her efforts to make the mundane magical through her writing. There are a number of experimental pieces—a cynical ditty on birth and women, a stunning denunciation of a child by its adoring mother, a brief, austere elegy to Puerto Rican parents of a kidnapped child. Even in the pieces that don't work well are some small gems of prose, or description, or scene.

The book is filled with wise remarks, enlivened by the pressure that compels Paley to write. Most of the time, the zeal remains witty, the engagement disarmingly offhand. The need to make a better world is as essential to these friends and acquaintances as the need to make breakfast, to love one's children, to shop or talk or find someone to help charm one's fears away at night. Paley knows that participation in the fate of one's time is not a choice. Politics reaches down to the bone; it's what helps her characters know they have more to live for than themselves, more to hope for than they can individually imagine.

It is no accident that several of the stories in *Later the Same Day* are tales of listening, that five titles allude to telling stories, that another two titles refer to language. Homey to a fault, Paley is also extraordinarily self-conscious about her aesthetic. Telling "opens up the congestion a little—the lungs are for breathing, not secrets," one character advises.

In an earlier book, Paley admits her obligation "to tell [people's] stories as simply as possible, in order, you might say, to save a few lives." Such statements are vintage Paley in their faith, their humor, their clarity. The intimacy through language, the confession of debt to others, the sentimentality wedged in a pun, the simple words and complex resonance—this is the way Paley writes, the way she has chosen to care about and attempt to "save a few lives" among her neighborhood of readers.

Paul Skenazy teaches literature at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Park. But as the war in Vietnam intensified Paley became very active in local and national anti-war protests. Her political energy now goes toward such issues as nuclear disarmament and U.S. involvement in Central America. As an ardent feminist, Paley conducts her efforts through organizations like the Women's Pentagon Action.

Such political activity is something of a family tradition. Her parents, Ukraine-born Isaac Goodside and Manya Ridnyic, were both social democrats exiled for their resistance to czarist autocracy. In 1905 they immigrated to the U.S. and eventually settled in the Bronx. Several of Paley's stories celebrate her parents' ardor and their gift for storytelling—another family tradition.

A lifelong New Yorker, Paley now spends six months a year in Thetford, Vt., with her second husband, who is retired to a cabin there. But Paley continues to teach at Sarah Lawrence College and City College of New York and participates in such activities as a sit-in on Wall Street, and a reading for Writers for Peace Day. Despite growing literary recognition, Paley will undoubtedly remain on her corner, 11th and 6th, passing out leaflets and talking passersby into signing petitions.

—Doug Turetsky

"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II
By Studs Terkel
Pantheon, 595 pp., \$19.95

By Ronald Grele

ORAL HISTORIES ARE documents of the time of their creation, not the time under discussion. What they tell is filtered through the memory of the now about the then; everything that has happened since intrudes itself upon that memory. Thus, *"The Good War"* is as much about the effects of Vietnam and the Cold War on our consciousness as it is about World War II. And oral histories reflect the visions of the interpreter as much as they do those whose words are recorded and presented to us.

"The Good War," recently awarded the Pulitzer Prize (for non-fiction, however, not for history) is, like all of Studs Terkel's oral histories, a skillful blend of people, events, reminiscences and insights. It is also a series of documents revealing the ways in which people hold memory and experience in dialectical tension. The Pulitzer moment is as good a time as any to examine that tension and to offer an appreciation to Terkel for what he has achieved; to talk about the strengths of the book and ask why, after all the criticisms one might have of the selection, editing and pace, does such testimony still ring true? Why is it that after we finish such a work we understand some of the ways that the memory of great events lives on and is used by people as they try to make sense out of their lives?

It is clear that Terkel has an amazing ear for a good story. He has a sense of the ways in which different people locate themselves in time, and how their stories can evoke moments of feeling that create a map of social relations and a way of seeing with an inner eye the intersection of public and private events. He is also a skillful editor. Anyone who has edited an interview or listened to people tell their stories will recognize that the segments here have been edited, culled, re-worked to get at what Terkel calls "the nugget." He has an impressive ability to do that and keep the tone, cadences and nuances of conversation.

In the interview with Chicago businessman Robert Ramus (one of the most interesting in the book and one which Terkel quotes from extensively in his introduction), it is obvious that he includes only a small fraction of the full dialog. Yet, the basic structure of the interview, a mini-drama in three acts (before the war, the war and after the war) is retained. His tale is one of growing up, of a "mother's boy" becoming an independent individual through his wartime experiences, and then re-integrating into society. Form, theme and language interweave and complement each other. This is but one example, and there are several others equally complex.

Terkel is also a master at moving us through time, place and politics. The book goes from Pearl



Photographer unknown

Harbor Day to the dropping of the atom bomb and the Japanese surrender and, at times, it doubles back to the '30s or moves forward to today. It jumps almost randomly from battlefield to battlefield, homefront to concentration camp. Yet these disjunctures are not jarring. The chronicle of the war is in the fragmented testimony, but the fabric is woven so tightly that it is hardly noticeable that such a large territory is covered in so few pages. Sometimes memories are weak and the experience dim, but more often what is chosen to be remembered and the way it is juxtaposed with other memories forms a vital and vivid comment on war and the memory of war. Terkel's voices move across five continents and 45 years with remarkable ease.

Anti-war statement.

But these particular segments were consciously chosen for presentation, and each was placed in a particular order. They are meant to move from one political point to another, and it is this that makes the book a profoundly anti-war statement. Terkel has chosen to place the title *"The Good War"* in quotes, as if there is some question as to whether this was a good war. Would he have done so had Korea and Vietnam not undermined our faith in that war and ourselves as warriors? Yet the blend of then and now demands that these questions be asked.

In the early pages of the book it is apparent with what valor and ease young men went to war and with what resignation and sorrow their Japanese-American neighbors went to concentration camps. The book closes with atomic holocaust and the serious reservations many have about what another war might mean in these changed circumstances. They are the lens through which the reader views the testimony. While Terkel may not offer a narrative history of the war, he certainly does offer an insight into our own ambivalencies and uncertainties. This is why it rings true. These voices articulate our own feelings and sentiments.

On what level are these feelings and sentiments political? It is surprising how many people in this book do not articulate a conscious

politics. Yet the people interviewed are, for the most part, anti-war but not in an ideological sense. Ironically, the only Americans who do see it as "the good war" are the most cynical war profiteers, a few academics and the veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, who have the most clearly articulated politics and are thus able to distinguish between good and bad wars.

The political visions can be found only at a deeper cultural level. Here three themes stand out. Most of those who recall their experiences talk at great length and with passion about their attempts to prevent themselves from becoming brutalized by the experience of war. They saw their comrades and loved ones killed and maimed. They sought vengeance and valor in battle. Yet, 40 years later they are at pains to distance themselves morally from that brutality, to insist upon their ability to preserve their humanity. Was that the experience of the time or is that something that exists only upon reflection? I think the experience was real, the articulation of it came later.

Another theme is machismo. In the section entitled "Reflections on Machismo," and throughout the book, people talk about how the war was their coming of age experience, the crucible in which their conceptions of what it meant to be a man or woman was formed. This gives a special poignancy to the tales of black soldiers and sailors who, because of racism, were confined to support services and very often denied battle duty. In this way they were shut off from the full manliness of the war.

It is interesting how many people frame their experiences in terms of films they saw when they returned home. "It was just like the movies" or "it was nothing like the movies" they say. Individual films are mentioned and film stars discussed. Many of these recollections about the war have been structured into formulas derived from viewing movies about the war. They provide the model of expression. What would have happened if today's Vietnam veterans had had the same array of popular films to help them interpret and to sanction their experiences, teaching them and us what a soldier or

Pulitzer Prize-winner Studs Terkel veteran should be.

There are some problems with *"The Good War."* Some of the interviews are just not very good. *New Yorker* film critic Pauline Kael's is just a listing of the movies she saw as a kid. Tommy Corcoran's interview (one of Franklin Roosevelt's closest advisers) is a mish-mash. An assistant of his talks later about Corcoran's sell-out, and only then is the earlier interview made understandable.

Some people have been included because of their notoriety, even if they had nothing pertinent or interesting to say. Since there was no real attempt for ideological balance (no neo-Nazis, no anti-Semites, etc.), why such a concern for sociological balance?

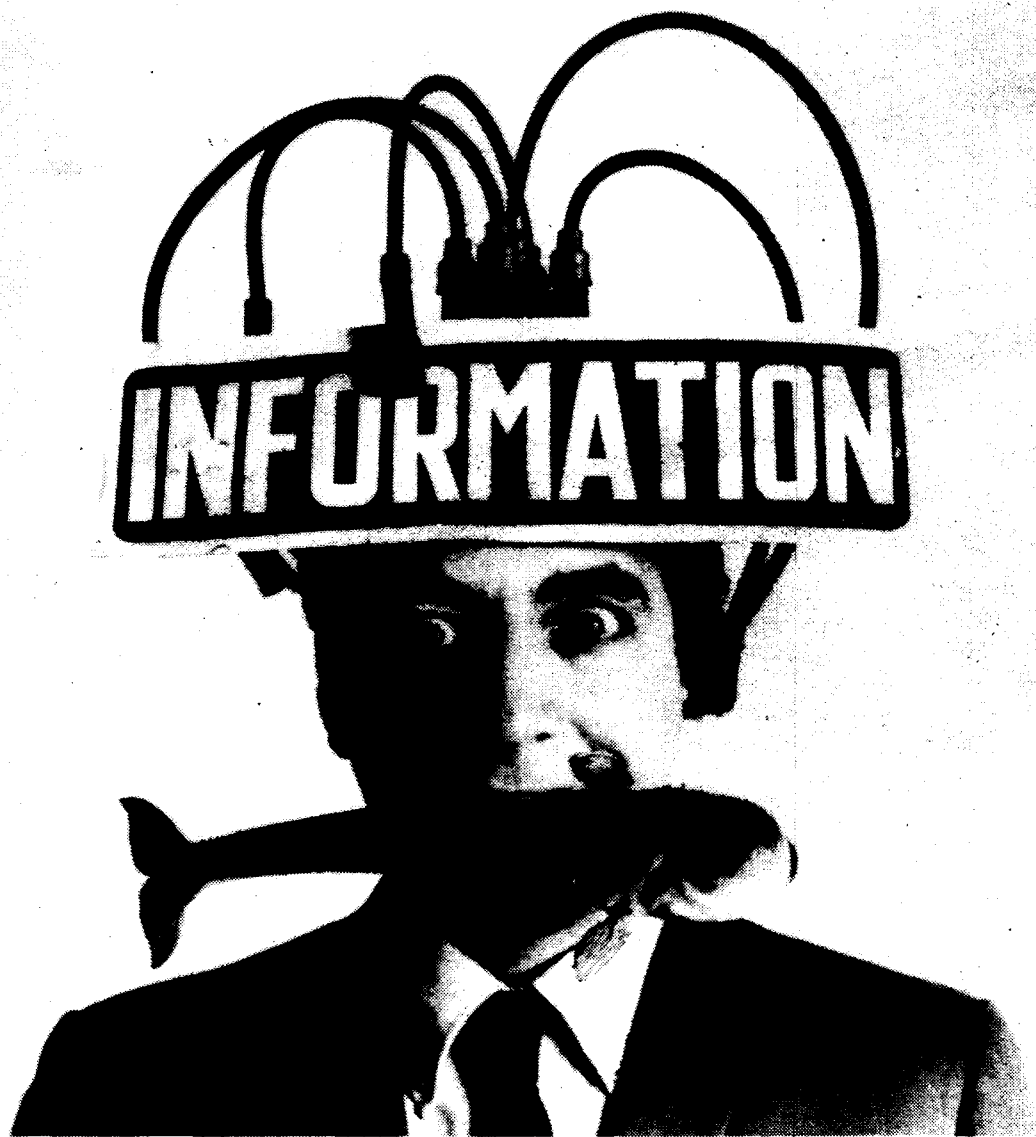
Filmmaker Garson Kanin in his interview says that ordinary G.I.s sometimes did not get the full picture of a battle that he got. At times we get the same feeling here. With all of the discussion of particulars, the big picture is lost. An author with a less hidden hand might have provided that. Much is left to infer or is only subtly implied. Also, as one respondent comments on holocaust tales, we get hardened to the testimony. After one has heard enough stories they are no longer new. The same happens here.

At its best *"The Good War"* is deeply moving, at least for someone who grew up in its aftermath. Whether or not it will move a younger generation is another question. Terkel closes with a group of Chicago street kids talking about life and death and the bomb. The war lives on, but not in their memories. Serge Schmemmann reporting for the *New York Times* on the Soviet commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the ending of the war expressed surprise that that struggle has become a centerpiece in Russian history, "a sacred act of national sacrifice and deliverance." That it does not seem so in the U.S. may be the problem, and that is all the more reason to appreciate what Terkel has done.

Ronald Grele is director of the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University and is currently working on an oral history of the international student movement of the '60s.

PUPPETRY

Zaloom's junky comedy



Political puppeteer Paul Zaloom performing his skit "The Ocean of the Future"

By Pat Aufderheide

IN AN ERA IN WHICH TRUTH IS stranger than fiction, and Dr. Strangelove is merely another Defense Department bureaucrat, it's hard to make humor. Humor is topical; it lives on the hard edge of social contradiction. And when the contradictions are this confounding, satire easily becomes a pastiche like any other. You practically have to consult a TV schedule to tell the difference between "Saturday Night Live," the evening news and the infotainment specials.

The revival of vaudeville and slapstick in performance art (see adjoining article) is the latest attempt to break out of that bind. Performers are throwing their bodies at the problem Kafka noted when he said, "Capitalism is a state of the world and a state of the soul."

Paul Zaloom may be the most explicitly political of these performers. You can find the Manhattan-based artist at peace benefits, at community centers, in theaters and at universities. In July, he opens the summer-long People's Theater Festival in San Francisco. He draws his materials from defense manuals, trade magazines and from yesterday's headlines. And his medium is puppetry.

Zaloom started out at Bread and Puppet, the Vermont-based theater group led by Peter Schumann. "I was inspired by his work, and it

taught me what puppets can do," says Zaloom, noting that Schumann, who was born in Silesia, draws on a long tradition. "In Europe, puppetry is part of the serious art and culture. There's even an International Puppetry Union in Dresden.

"At Bread and Puppet, Peter wants to create his own vocabulary," says Zaloom. "But I was interested in a political theater more involved with this culture. I was born into it, and it's a love-hate relationship."

Zaloom develops three, four and five minute skits that turn the junk of daily life into bizarre, hilarious puppet dramas. A box of 200 rubber cigars becomes—what else?—Congress. A pay phone becomes AT&T in a skit about deregulation of the phone company. Items are transformed by Zaloom's eye for the macabre behind the ordinary. A soap container, for instance, becomes part of a vigilante book-burning brigade, stomping into a library run by a souvenir-sized Statue of Liberty.

"I use things we're all familiar with, and I often find them in the garbage. I like taking something ordinary and giving it new meaning. It needs to be familiar to the audience, not just neat junk," he explains.

What Zaloom has discovered is an ingenious way to turn the commodity fetishism of a society on its head. In Zaloom's skits objects take on a perverse life of their own, in scenarios one wild step away from real life. Zaloom hosts them, in shows that draw their titles from twists on his name: *Crazy as Zaloom*, for instance (his company is called, of course, Fruit of Zaloom).

In one skit, "The Ocean of the Future," Zaloom plays a mad

French chef, who tosses an ocean-salad composed of sewage and poisons with a panache that could make Julia Child envious; a distributor cap becomes an octopus, braving the chemical content. In *Return of the Creature from the Blue Zaloom*, he creates a schlock artist, Leonardo, who lives in a Manhattan artists' loft building threatened with condoization. The skit echoes Punch and Judy, and not all the jokes are political. Judy asks Leonardo, "Do you work in papier maché?" Leonardo replies, "Judy, I am papier maché." But the theme is the artist's participation in the gentrification process, and in their own marginalization. Zaloom has the landlord dub art-

ists "mobile urban-renewal units."

Not all Zaloom's skits use puppets. One of the most effective from his most recent show is called "Basic Intelligence," in which he plays a nerdy defense analyst giving a slide-lecture on military language. All the material is drawn, almost all of it straight, from public documents, and even the ancient missile-phallus jokes come from the public record—they only require Zaloom's pointer to turn into black humor. The parodic display of defense "intelligence" both mocks the military's claim to be making the world safer for democracy and debunks its authorities. At one point, Zaloom veers away from defense issues, when the analyst begins to discuss the aesthetic values of a slide illustrating a weapon system. Suddenly, Zaloom has become the pompous authority of the art world, the jargon-ridden critic.

Television has begun to highlight the new comedy, but someone like Zaloom is unlikely to go electronic. It's not his message that's the problem—although the networks like to avoid truly black humor—so much as the medium. His deliberately tacky puppet-magic looks witty—an impudent joke on junk—when it's live, but shrinks on screen, where special effects can produce anything. Besides, Zaloom's work is not one-liners or sight gags; it takes a few minutes to get the point. Zaloom's got concepts, not high-concept.

But he's still after the same kind of audience he might expect to watch TV. "I want to do art that's accessible to just about anybody," he says. "It's good playing for 'movement' audiences, but it's like entertaining the troops. My performance style is weird, but anybody can figure it out. What I really like doing is to make people laugh. I would also like it that after laughing something else is there, knocking on their brains a little bit.

"Humor can break down defenses," he says. "Does it change anything? That might be presumptuous."

©Pat Aufderheide

For more information on Zaloom's schedule contact Fruit of Zaloom, 54 Franklin St., #3F, New York, NY 10013. For information on the People's Theater Festival, contact the People's Theater Coalition, Fort Mason Center, Building B, San Francisco, CA 94123.

By Joel Schechter

HERE ARE CLOWNS THESE days who do not wear red noses or sport chalk-white faces. They might, in fact, be mistaken for lawyers or members of Congress, except that their pants are baggy, the plaids on their jackets are too large, and someone sat on their hats. Audiences at theaters in New York, Chicago and San Francisco are hailing these performers as "new vaudevillians."

The new vaudeville combines traditional slapstick, acrobatics and juggling with the innovations of postmodern dance, theater and performance art. It's a merger of popular entertainment and experimental theater that offers a new forum for topical, political satire.

This fusion began for the clowns when several performers ran away from the circus. Bill Irwin, Bob Berky and Michael Moschen all attended the Ringling Bros. Clown College, but found that large three-ring arenas and commercial packaging of humor denied them the extended gags and outrageous parodies of manners that attracted them to clowning in the first place.

Irwin has become the most prominent of the circus exiles, since he was awarded last year a five-year grant from the MacArthur Foundation. Irwin studied theater at UCLA, joined Herbert Blau's experimental theater group Kraken and then learned circus skills at Ringling Bros.

After performing in the one-ring Pickle Family Circus in San Francisco, he began to write his own slapstick stage plays, and also began performing in political comedies. In 1984, he appeared briefly on Broadway in Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*. His part in that play's mockery of corrupt justice may have inspired his own play, *The Courtroom*, which opened in New York in May.

As the play opens, three caricatures of lawyers strut onto stage, accompanied by a jazz drummer's fanfare. These legal beagles are dressed in oversized black-and-white plaid suits, and they look like refugees from an R. Crumb cartoon or Hollywood gangster film. When a grey-wigged judge tells them they are overcharging their clients and their jobs should be done by an arbitration board,

works made for the show. But few directly addressed the theme or provided any insights into the nature of disinformation, its consequences for the public, and what the "right to know" might come to mean in the years ahead.

"It is easy enough to make fun of Ronald Reagan," Noam Chomsky noted aptly in his catalog essay, but that is a diversion, because "violence, deceit and lawlessness are natural functions of the state, any state." As former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's press secretary once said, "It's inherent in the government's right, if necessary, to lie to save itself." Current estimates suggest that at least \$3 billion a year is spent by American intelligence agencies on disinformation or propaganda. Disinformation has become an integral part of national security. As Donna Demac notes in her recent *Keeping America Uninformed*, in the Reagan administration this practice has been "institutionalized in a number of ways, from the line of the day sent out from the White House Office

POLITICAL ART

Disinformation lumps

By Berta Sichel

ON THE OCCASION OF Tricia Nixon's wedding, the White House released the recipe for Tricia's gigantic wedding cake, allegedly from the Nixon family recipe file. When housewives and food writers tried the recipe, however, it yielded only a porridge-like glob that overflowed baking pans and ovens all over the country.

At first the White House announced a miscalculation in the attempt to scale down the recipe, then claimed that a mix-up between whole eggs and egg whites was to blame. Finally, the beleaguered White House chef admitted that he didn't know where the rec-

ipe had come from.

This event came to mind during the exhibit held at New York's Alternative Museum last spring, called "Disinformation: The Manufacture of Consent." Like Tricia's cake, the ingredients stubbornly refused to blend together. With "Disinformation," some familiar figures on the political art scene, a timely idea and a provocative title weren't enough to make the show rise above its pedestrian contents. But the exhibit's very failure made you think about the elements that go into a successful product.

Curator Geno Rodriguez' definition of disinformation as "a technique used by the printed media in order to create a national opinion and consent" probably influenced the majority of the 33

Zaloom turns commodity fetishism on its head.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

HUMOR

'New Vaudevillians' create fusion humor



Bill Irwin was awarded a MacArthur Foundation grant last year.

the trio falls flat on their backs in deadpan faints.

Bill Irwin enters the halls of justice as a stumbling dillard in search of a bicycle license. The scheming lawyers seize on him as a witness in their murder trial; he stays to serve as stenographer, lawyer and eventually judge. Half the cast ends up serving a turn as judge before the evening ends. Each time a new judge ascends the bench, objections are raised to his rule, and lawyers throw the rascal out. Justice is rarely *this* shortlived (except when the Reagan administration disallows the jurisdiction of the World Court).

The dances, pratfalls, ventriloquism, double-takes, puns and chases transform the tedium of legal proceedings into entertainment. The enormously gifted group includes juggler Michael Moschen, tap dancer Brenda Butalino, break dancer Rory Mitchel, ventriloquist and composer Doug Skinner and Bob Berky. The antics imply that courtroom verdicts are often based on a lawyer's glibness (or fast footwork) rather than the value of an argument. Juggler Moschen portrays a lawyer who dazzles the court with his juggling act. The other clown lawyers decide they need more time, and draft Irwin to stall with some kind of "song and dance." The reluctant Irwin takes out a top hat, cane and a court record (a jazz LP), and with other actors performs wonderfully comic tap dancing and break dancing.

Irwin merges popular dance forms and circus acts with a cartoonists sense of political humor. Still, the mockery may be too broad and humor too gentle for Irwin's vaudeville to be effective political satire. The show can, after all, be enjoyed by the very lawyers and court officials whose behavior it ridicules. It is too early to say whether Irwin's work-in-progress will lead to political theater as forceful as Dario Fo's or Bertolt Brecht's. They too drew on popular entertainment forms for their plays, as Irwin is well aware. After he leaves *The Courtroom*, Irwin will appear in San Diego as another stage clown—the innocent civilian Galy Gay, who is lured into foreign war in Brecht's *Man Is Man*. ■

Joel Schecter teaches dramatic literature at the Yale School of Drama.

to the presidential order authoring the reclassification of documents." In such a context, the media is more the perpetrator of disinformation than its creator.

Half the works in the show ignored Chomsky's "main point," however, merely playing with Reagan's image and policies, or criticizing the media. Chomsky also cited Walter Lippmann and his concept of the "manufacture of consent," as well as his attention to stereotypes, the repertory of images with which our imaginations work. But most of the work in this exhibit used trite, redundant political imagery, incapable of provoking the shock of the unexpected.

Ironically, political art has become the darling of mainstream media. The first line of a 1984 *Newsweek* article titled "Art on the Barricades" made the point: "In art politics is back in fashion." Recent exhibits such as "The End of the World: Visions of the Apocalypse," the Leon Golub retrospective, "Art and Ideology," "Dreams and Nightmares," "Artists Call" and "Art against Apartheid" prove

Newsweek right. Whether protesting American intervention in Central America or the nuclear arms race, artists have been able to attract a wider audience than usual. But nothing stays "in fashion" indefinitely. For political art to be of more than passing interest it has to compete with a huge and powerful image-industry. In this *Despo Magoni's "Public Enemy"* at N.Y.'s Alternative Museum



exhibit, many works were information-poor on the order of Despo Magoni's "Public Enemy"—a simple picture of a monster labeled "New York Times." Finally, the art has to address political realities. Disinformation, for instance, is a process of altering information, not merely a lie to be challenged.

There were powerful pieces in the exhibit. Along with works by Antonio Muntadas, Alfredo Jaar and Francesco Torres, Martha Rosler's three-part work—including a videotape in which both sound and image were distorted—was strong. And it was so because it addressed the practice of deliberately altering information. One part of her piece reproduces a page from a *New York Times* article titled, "If It's Too Bad to Be True, It Could Be Disinformation." Unfortunately, this could be the epigraph for the show. ■

Berta Sichel is a journalist and editor for *Apple Bytes*, an electronic information service produced at New York University's Alternative Media Center.

MEDIA BEAT

Intellectual Freedom, Brought to You By...

Recently neoconservative intellectuals represented by, among others, Jeane Kirkpatrick and Norman Podhoretz, held a conference in Washington, D.C., to attack the subversive notion of "moral equivalence," which basically argued that superpowers will be superpowers and that, assuming God—or at least virtue—is on our side, may be expensive. Not one of the tough-minded intellectuals apparently minded that the conference was sponsored in part by the U.S. Department of State. "Imagine how these close students of values in politics would rate a conference of Soviet intellectuals conducted by a Moscow institute "in cooperation with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs," noted *Washington Post* columnist Stephen Rosenfeld.

Propaganda and Public TV

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting further undermined its reputation during mid-May meetings in San Francisco, when board chair Sonia Landau—Reagan fundraiser and personal enemy of CPB president Ed Pfister—introduced a resolution opposing a CPB trip to Moscow, to look at Soviet TV production. (Soviet arts documentaries are heralded worldwide.) Privately she suggested CPB staffers could not be trusted to tell culture from propaganda, a charge one station manager called "ridiculous." Pfister resigned amid harsh words all around; board member Sharon Rockefeller, who Landau deposed as chair last year, claimed CPB, a private entity, had been "totally undermined" by catering to imagined future congressional disapproval. The incident, ludicrous in itself, was the most flagrant recent evidence of a rightward shift in the board since its membership was shrunk last year, along with appointments of right-wing ideologues such as Richard Brookhiser. Brookhiser had warned it would be "disastrous" if the Soviet version of history were allowed on public TV in the U.S. Let's hear it for "moral equivalence"—see above.

Meanwhile, among the Dissidents

In the same week, independent filmmakers—regularly hailed by public TV execs as proof that public TV is truly public, but rarely funded in like measure—held their own conference. Larry Daressa of California Newsreel, the conference's co-sponsoring organization, argued that while commercial TV's version of public affairs had been transmuted into docudramas and infotainment, public TV had sunk its spending into glitzy series like *Frontline*, which proudly calls itself "the thinking man's 60 Minutes." The independent documentary, by contrast, he argued, offered a point of view, challenging the myth of journalistic objectivity. "Point of view is nothing less than the intellectual technology with which we appropriate our world and make it our own," he said. "For the voice of God, the documentary producer can substitute the tentative and inquiring voice of man." Public TV station managers may have to accept the substitute this year; funding cuts since 1981 have left CPB's cupboard bare of series for the coming season.

Definitely Not the Oscars

Independent filmmakers, who a decade ago were a disorganized, embattled and heterogeneous presence in national media, are still embattled and heterogeneous. But their New York-based Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers has, over the last 10 years, negotiated on behalf of indies with public TV officials and with unions, and has successfully lobbied for legislation favoring the producers of alternative views. Early this month the organization celebrated its 10th anniversary, with independents such as Susan Seidman (*Desperately Seeking Susan*) in evidence, and giving awards to such unsung heroes as physicist Larry Hall, a West Coast media activist, and Howard Wise, founder of a video artists' production and distribution service called Electronic Arts Intermix. The organization presented a special award to Martin Sheen, who has contributed to numerous independent works, and even accepted an award from the hand that feeds the cameras of filmmakers, Eastman Kodak.

Wacko in South Africa, the Sequel

The South African film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, a film widely censored and boycotted by blacks who find its version of South African reality grossly distorted (see *In These Times*, May 1), continues to break box office records in the U.S. Its take in New York alone just topped \$1 million, traditionally a marker of national success for foreign films. That makes it the longest-running feature film in a first-run theater in New York, as well as in several other cities across North America. And that's not all: it's a smash internationally, and in Japan its grosses are second only to *Star Wars*. In fact, this may be only the beginning. Filmmaker Jamie Uys has announced that *The Gods Must Be Crazy II*, also starring N!Xau, the Kalahari bushman, is in preproduction.

—Pat Aufderheide

Gays

Continued from page 7

as one of the institutions historically responsible for their oppression. Catholic leaders seem no more certain how to deal with gays—and, indeed, many have yet to recognize that they must.

In addition, the Catholic Church is still discovering how to be a moral force in a pluralistic society. This is perhaps most easily done when its position is a minority one—such as on the abortion issue—and the church can adopt the stance of prophet calling the nation to a more authentic moral course.

Such a stance is not possible on issues of homosexuality, where church teaching reflects majority public opinion and church leaders have not translated their moral teaching into a comprehensible public policy stance. Since 1976, Catholic bishops consistently have pushed a distinction between homosexual orientation and acts. The orientation per se is not sinful, they say, and gay women and men are to be welcomed as valued members of the Christian community. At the same time, homosexual acts are wrong and are to be condemned. Such a distinction may work in moral theology textbooks and some pastoral settings, but most people, including bishops, have a hard time telling the actor from the act. As a result, most Catholic leaders have tilted toward the immorality of homosexual acts when they try to enunciate public policy positions. They have alienated rather than affirmed gay people in so doing, and hardened positions on both sides.

This was evident in the bitterness of many of the Georgetown student plaintiffs—I can still remember covering the trial as editor of a gay newspaper and being criticized for being too friendly with university administrators and attorneys during recesses. It was evident, too, in the harsh no-holds-barred response of the university

to the suit. A Georgetown law professor recently estimated the university has spent a minimum of \$250,000 opposing the proposition to which it finally agreed last month—that recognition need not equal endorsement.

In the end, what may be most ironic about the two cases is that the Catholic Church, seeking to apply its moral theology to public policy without careful analysis, has yielded the moral ground in these disputes to the gay community.

Steve Martz is a theology student in Chicago and a former editor of the Washington Blade.

Letter

Continued from page 11

December 1975 in reaction to the success of the divorce referendum and linked to the mass organization *Comunione e liberazione*. Conservative Catholic militants have been filling the vacuum left by disillusioned revolutionaries, winning elections on university campuses and in other mass organizations such as unions and cooperatives. In Rome, television journalist Alberto Micheleni running as an independent on the Christian Democratic list got more preferential votes than the head of the list and next mayor Nicola Signorello. Micheleni is a member of the secretive, authoritarian Catholic brotherhood *Opus Dei*. He is expected to take over cultural policy from the innovative Communist Nicolini, whose Roman summer festivals featured such offenses to the Vatican as gay films.

The rise of Catholic conservatism contesting both Marxism and "socialist humanism" could eventually make Craxi's alliance with the center-right more problematic, and may open the way for some Socialist opening toward a chastened PCI that recognizes it is a prisoner of the PSI, distasteful as this may be. Meanwhile, Craxi, having demonstrated his loyalty to NATO, is taking the lead among European

government leaders in feeling out Gorbachov. The Socialist leader's feat in practically eliminating the powerful PCI from local government makes it easier for him to pursue relatively friendly contacts with Moscow.

III

Thanks to the Greens in West Germany, left-oriented movements have remained much stronger than the conservative backlash. But the May 12 elections in North Rhine-Westphalia were a blow to the Greens comparable to that suffered in Italy by the PCI. The NRW Greens, particularly movement and base-oriented, failed to cross the 5 percent hurdle to the state legislature while the Social Democratic Party (SPD) headed by reassuring middle-of-the-road politician Johannes Rau swept to absolute majority all by itself. Those who felt they were floating ever upward on a favorable trend had a rude awakening. The political "realists," who want to structure the Greens as a political party rather than a hodge-podge of grassroots movements, and to define a precise program and work out compromises with the SPD, have emerged strengthened. In Hesse, the Greens reached a coalition agreement with the SPD.

The mood on the left is for a more professional, programmatic politics with less faith in progressive trends and grassroots movements.

Media

Continued from page 13

campaign a share of the decent-but-uncommitted vote, which the left too often ignores.

There is an overemphasis on the media fix in Zimmerman's political analysis. Nothing galls him more than trenchant political writing that examines a campaign's issue positions, precinct operations, fundraising efforts and staff competence, while ignoring the media campaign. But Zimmerman is guilty of reverse myopia.

Going all the way back to the Hayden campaign, if it bequeathed to its participants a valuable appreciation of TV, it left an arguably as-important legacy: the Campaign for Economic Democracy, which came out of the Hayden campaign chapters. CED has its problems, but it's a rare community-based organization that sticks around between elections and tries to instill respect for politics and civic life as worthwhile pursuits. I'd sacrifice Tom Hayden's election for that any day.

That is not an inevitable trade-off, of course. Successful politics requires that candidates and their backers have a community profile on important issues as well as a way to reach beyond the already politicized. Zimmerman puts it this way: "Television isn't the whole effort. Neither is organizing the whole effort. One leads to the other. Television is meaningless unless it's followed up by education and organizing."

It's because TV is such a seductive quick-fix that its limits have to be acknowledged. Even Zimmerman is appalled when his own arguments are taken to their absurd extreme by Democrats who say Walter Mondale only failed because he lacked a TV persona. "I've heard very high level people in the Democratic Party talk about running Robert Redford for president, or somehow finding a really 'telegenic' candidate," he says. "I don't think that's the lesson of '84. The lesson is not just that the Republicans had a better messenger, but that they had a better message."

Although he worked for Hart in the primary, Zimmerman said he tried to work for Mondale in the general election but couldn't get through the "bureaucratic maze." If he'd been involved, he would have gone after Reagan's extreme right support, he says, and would have taken more "aggressive positions" on nuclear disarmament, on foreign policy and military intervention. But wouldn't that have brought him into conflict with the Mondale campaign's own political strategy?

"Yeah, he really is a Cold Warrior," Zimmerman says. "That was the problem. He was the wrong candidate. See? Truth matters."

BEQUESTS

In These Times appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times'* role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

The following language is suggested for making a bequest: "I give to the Institute for Public Affairs, a California not-for-profit corporation, the sum of \$_____ to be used for the benefit of *In These Times*, whose address is 1300 West Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

For more information please contact: Felicity Bensch, Assistant Publisher, *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Phone (312) 472-5700.

HEALTH IN REVOLUTION CENTRAL AMERICA 1985



2nd Annual
National Central America
Health Rights Network
(N-CAHRN) Conference

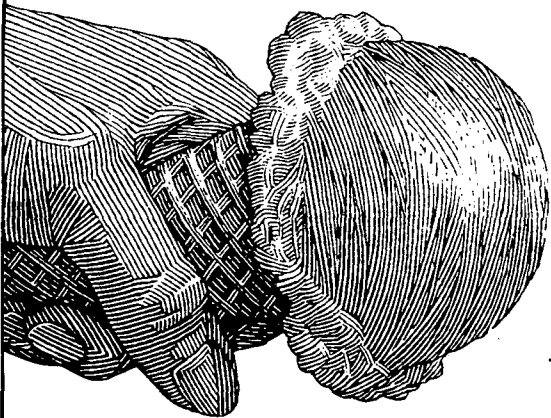
JUNE 14-16

Speakers/Workshops
including
Dr. Charles Clements

For info: Medical Aid, 731 State St.
Madison, WI 53703, (608) 251-3241

The Second Scoop Is Free

NOW YOU CAN GIVE
TWO GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS
FOR THE PRICE
OF ONE!



Serve your friends, family and colleagues a taste of something special this summer. Give one six-month gift subscription at our regular low rate of just \$15.95 and give another six-month gift scoop for FREE. Now you can give two gift subscriptions for the price of one!

Whether it's a birthday, wedding or graduation present, *IN THESE TIMES* makes a delicious gift idea. We've got 22 flavorful issues coming up, with our weekly Arts & Entertainment section scooping the latest music and film releases and the In Print section reviewing the current summer reading choices. We'll be dishing out centerspread and back page features along with our ongoing coverage of national and international events. Add Nicole Hollander's nutty Sylvia cartoon strip and you've topped off the perfect gift. Give your friends and family the news they can't find anywhere else, and the analysis that you've come to rely upon from *IN THESE TIMES*.

It's easy. For only \$15.95, you'll be giving two big scoops. Simply complete the order form below, and then sit back and enjoy the summer. We'll send out the gift cards announcing your gifts, and if you prefer, we'll even bill you later.

MY NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HAO5

Send my first \$15.95 gift to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HAO6

Send my FREE gift scoop to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HAO6

Sign the gift cards from _____

☐ My payment is enclosed.
☐ Please bill me later.
For faster service call our toll-free
number: 1-800-247-2160.
Iowa residents: 1-800-362-2860.

Each gift subscription must be
addressed to different individuals and
they must be new orders. The above
rates are for U.S. residents only—
foreign orders are \$17.50 for each
subscription.

Prince

Continued from page 24

trover's" electro-thump. His hazy ecclesiastic quest reached spiritual climax on "God," and then quixotic dimensions last month when, after reporters asked why he would no longer be touring, he said, "I'm going to look for the ladder." *Newsweek's* Jim Miller got so freaked out that he actually compared Prince and his entourage to some wild-ass Middle Ages Christian sect, the Free Spirits. What next? Jim Jones and Guyana?

What Miller and others don't realize is something a jazz musician told me recently: "There's always religion in black folks' lives. It just depends on how they integrate and interpret it for themselves." Indeed, Prince's longing for salvation is far more private than the historically communal celebration of the Afro-American church. It seems to be rooted in the sullen sense of solitude that has laced his music from jump. Dig the lyrics from his second LP's "Still Waiting": "I'm so alone and broken-hearted/It ain't like my life has ended/But more like it never started." As a buddy of mine a few miles from the Paisley scene observed: "Outside of his music, the dude is empty."

Two tracks from *Around the World* point up the secular-loneliness leading-to-spiritual-striving philosophy. "The ladder," a lengthy sax-accented gospel song (easily the sweetest, most soulful Prince tune ever), is similar in feel and scope to "Purple Rain." "Condition of the Heart" is a gorgeous, uncommonly melodic piece featuring Prince's operatic falsetto and startling Chick Corea-style piano musings. The bottom line culled from these dialectically opposed tracks is that we're all looking for something: a decent place to live, a job, a lover.

Prince has got all that, so now he's setting his philosophical sights. Considering all black music is rooted in the subjugated black church—and being as how secularizing the music is a contradiction—some bloods go back to the source (Al Green), or attempt to come to grips with it in other ways (as in Marvin Gaye's posthumously-released "Sanctified Lady.")

A jazz musician who's played with Prince's father said recently, "Prince is actually copying the white artists who originally copied black artists." Considering John Lennon's idolatry of Chuck Berry and the blues, and *Around the World's* Sergeant Peppery flavor on three of the tracks, that comment's not too far off base. But it is a bit simple, and pessimistic. The signs that once said, "Don't buy these Negro records" were also torn down by Sly Stone's ideological stance and by the sheer sound of Jimi Hendrix.

In the early '70s, black pop groups picked up on the cultural protest and anti-establishment messages of Sly and Jimi. One look at the covers of the Temptations' *Puzzle People* (September 1969) and *Psychedelic Shack* (March 1970) would give you enough culture shock for any freaky trip around the world. The Temptations' Haight-Ashbury-meets-street-hustler-black-panther stance is a predecessor of Prince's Revolutionary Royal Court radical profile. And Prince's back-peddling through musical history is not unlike the Temptations' mass market maneuvers, either. Internalizing the most stylistically avant-garde, yet still popular aspects of white rock—while keeping your black ass intact—is one way for an Afro-American artist to "universalize" his craft, conquer the *Billboard* charts, and come to grips with what British critic Simon Frith terms "the contradictory relationship between black performer and white audience."

But Prince is pop music's most brilliant studio wizard and musician, which is why a lot of serious jazz cats are into him. The startling array of sounds on *Around the World* reflects The Kid's marriage to, and love of all music, which is why the Lennon/McCartney melodies are no shock. Of the three Beatlesque songs (including "Paisley Park," which has a beat the Fab Four only hinted at), "Raspberry Beret" is the bubbliest love-at-first-sight ode the little guy has ever penned. It's also in sharp contrast to the melancholy of the rest of the album, including the swirling Afro-Asian bounce of the title cut, a left-field classic and also "Pop Life," which puts a dreamy melody on top of a Sly Stone-type beat.

It's well-known among musicians that Prince's best instrument is the drums. The herky-jerky "Tamborine" holds that view with a smokin' (if lyrically silly) percussion 'n' bass jam (all instruments by His Highness) that features stick work from free jazz to Bo Diddley's beat. "America," a stripped-down, rawer remake of "Baby I'm a Star" highlights a burnished guitar take on the "America the Beautiful" melody. The lyrics reveal Prince's confused, conservative politics (first glimpsed on *Controversy's* "Ronnie Talk to Russia"). The song comments on the oppressiveness of capitalism—"Little sister makin' minimum wage...can't get over she's almost dead." But it also says: "Communism is just a word, but if the government turn over/it'll be the only word that's heard."

On the album's closing cut, a cathartic acid blues called "Temptation," Prince digests the revelation that L-O-V-E is more important than stickin' it in. That might not be big news to you or me, but it's a truth well learned by the little groupies who make up half The Kid's following. 'Sides, those free-me-from-the-devil screams (along with Eddie M.'s alto sax squawks), after

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 12-25, 1985 23
God tells the little guy he's gonna douse his purple light for bein' too nasty, put a chiller of a spell on me like I ain't never gotten from wax.

Yet mulling it over, I'm disturbed by Prince's metaphysical preoccupation. The Kid doesn't seem to realize that the human condition is inextricably tied to and shaped by the physical realities of political economies. I'd hate to think that he's going the route of other auteurs who suddenly "get religion," and then reject earthly solutions to our ills.

Maybe the Catholic liberation theologians helping the Sandinistas in Nicaragua could steer Prince onto the right path. Because in order to get to the type of freedom of the soul that motivates Prince's journey, you've got to die first. And death, as Malcolm X once said, is a slave's freedom. ■
David H. Adams is a music critic for the Minneapolis weekly City Pages and a DJ at jazz-oriented KTCJ-AM.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

MADISON, WI

June 14-16

The National Central America Health Rights Network will be holding its second annual conference June 14-16 in Madison, WI. Workshops will examine the relationships between health, social change and war in the region. For information: Medical Aid Project, P.O. Box 04464, Milwaukee, WI 53204, (608) 251-3241.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

UNION ORGANIZER—U.I.W. Local 424 seeking an aggressive committed person to organize workers employed in a wide variety of industries in and around the New York area. Spanish/English fluency preferred. Salary based on skill and experience. Full retirement and benefits. For more information call (516) 467-3500.

BUSINESS MANAGER position open at an alternative weekly. Experience in accounting, personnel management and publishing. The Metro Times encourages applications from women and minorities. Send resume and salary requirements to: Business Manager, The Metro Times, 2111 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48201.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution. Year round programs. Call (212) 777-1197 or write to Casa Nicaraguense de Español 70 Greenwich Ave., Rm. 559 New York, NY 10011

Issues in Gender, Sex & Politics
Changing Men
Fathering • Militarism
Anti-Sexist Politics • Sports
Poetry • Feminist Analysis

Interested?
Read all about it in *Changing Men*—a nationwide journal of the anti-sexist men's movement.

Regular subscription \$12 (4 issues)
Sample copy of current issue \$3.50
306 N. Brooks, Madison, WI 53715

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-791-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL League for Peace and Freedom is seeking a Legislative Director for its Washington, DC office. Position is available immediately. Salary: \$17,000 with paid vacations and health benefits. Send resume, writing sample and references to: WILPF, National Office, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107-1619, ATTN: Pam Jones-Burley.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, Box 429, 12520 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

THE NETWORK IN SOLIDARITY

TOUR NICARAGUA

WITH
ABBIE HOFFMAN
AND
STICK IT
TO
REAGAN'S EMBARGO

8 DAYS · AUGUST 13-21
\$795.00 inclusive
Airfare roundtrip Mexico
City, hotels, all meals
translators, cultural events,
workshops, war zone inspection
(limit on number)
call (212) 460-5877
or write: AMISTAD,
P.O. Box 1816
New York, NY 10156

NO DOGMAS ALLOWED
Affix this sign to ward off fixed ideas and to warn off those people who would inflict their upon you. T-shirt and vinyl sticker, \$12.00 p.p.d.
Check/M.O. to: T-SIGNS, P.O. Box 4673 Kaneohe, Hawaii 96744

with the People of Guatemala (NIS-GUA) seeks an experienced fundraiser for its national office. Long hours, low pay, rewarding work. Call or write for information. 930 F. St., NW, Room 720, Washington, DC 20004. (202) 483-0050.

DIRECTOR POSITION—Philadelphia Nuclear Freeze, 2125 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103, (215) 569-1074. Application deadline 7/15/85. Salary \$12-15,000 negotiable.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current, informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

BOOKSTORES

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Extensive selection, Marxist, Black, African, Labor, Caribbean, Central American titles. 20% discount with this ad on initial purchase. 79 Leonard St., Manhattan (5 blocks S. of Canal, between Broadway and Church). (212) 226-8445.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Kathleen at (312) 472-5700.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

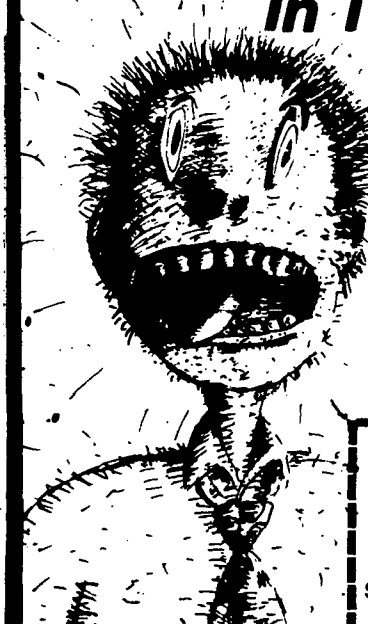
CAMPS

CAMP HURLEY is an interracial, inter-ethnic, summer camp in upstate New York which involves young people, 7-17, in learning to struggle for democratic values. Request brochure from United Community Centers, 833 Van Siclen Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11207.

PROPERTY

GOVERNMENT HOMES from \$1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call 1-805-687-6000 Ext. GH-2440 for information.

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for \$_____ week(s). Please indicate desired heading.

Advertiser _____
Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

The Psychedelics

OF

SALVATION

By David H. Adams

In his new album, Prince goes Around the World in a Day in search of sanctified truth.

THE PSYCHEDELIC-NUDGING, PALPITATING sigh of Prince's Oscar and Grammy-winning *Purple Rain* floated just high enough to come within falsetto calling distance of Curtus Mayfield's anti-drug ode *Superfly*, as one of the most inspired movie soundtracks in music history. Through the rain, Prince peered out from under his media ban (no interviews with the press since late 1982) to engage in some of the most rhapsodic couch maneuvers by a blood since Marving Gaye's 1978 divorce/alimony magnum opus, *Here, My Dear*.

His new album *Around the World in a Day* reflects that the crown prince of rock is a jumble of personal confusions, political contradictions and cultural synthesis unparalleled in pop music history. Prince slips on his kaleidoscope sunglasses, hops on his psychedelic-powered bike and plays a deified Pied Piper on a magical mystery tour in search of Sanctified Truth and a utopia in our hearts called "Paisley Park."

How much you buy Prince as a messiah in hippie drag depends on how much The Kid's verse-by-verse religious conversion has impressed you since he recited the "Our Father" prayer in the middle of "Con-

Continued on page 23

Design: Peter Hannan

Photos: © 1984 Water Productions & Warner Bros., Inc.